

The East Tennessee Historical Society's PUBLICATIONS

No. 14

1942

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THE FRONTIER BAPTIST MINISTRY

By WALTER B. POSEY

In the earliest migration across the Appalachians there was an ample scattering of Baptist preachers, both licensed and ordained. Stirred by their own persecution and imbued with the frontier spirit of democracy, the preachers of the Baptist faith were adequately equipped to lead a vigorous campaign in building the church of their choice.

These men were largely of the farmer-preacher variety. Reared among the people whom they served, they not only understood the habits, manners, and language of their listeners, but lived exactly as the people to whom they ministered. For five or six days a week they tilled or toiled and on Sunday they preached to their attentive congregations.¹ Such preachers generally owned small farms;² some taught school, or practiced medicine or law;³ one even operated a distillery.⁴ As a rule they engaged in land speculation in the same manner as any other frontiersman, for they were ever on the hunt for more productive soils.⁵ So interested in a secular-religious combination were the Baptist preachers in Tennessee that only two in the entire state in 1842 were "laboring exclusively for the churches"⁶ in which they preached. The success of the preachers in material things encouraged a prevailing opinion that any preacher worth hearing would be one who had gotten his share of the

¹J. H. Spencer, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson Fisher* (Louisville, 1866), 41; J. A. Smith, *A History of the Baptists in the Western States East of the Mississippi* (Philadelphia, 1896), 45-46; John Bond (compiler), *History of the Baptist Concord Association of Middle Tennessee and North Alabama* (Nashville, 1860), 28.

²S. G. Hillyer, *Reminiscences of Georgia Baptists* (Atlanta, 1902), 1; J. J. Burnett, *Sketches of Tennessee's Pioneer Baptist Preachers* (Nashville, 1919), 27.

³E. B. Teague, *An Outline Picture of the Baptist Denomination in Alabama in former times and incidentally in Other States* (Library of the Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.), 83.

⁴*The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, Feb. 28, 1839.

⁵A few of the preachers accumulated much wealth. One of the most interesting of this group was John Taylor, who owned extensive holdings in land in Kentucky. See John Taylor, *A History of Ten Baptist Churches of Which the Author Has Been Alternately a Member* (Frankfort, Ky., 1823), *passim*. D. P. Bestor, of Alabama, was at one time supposed to have a yearly income of twenty thousand dollars. Teague, *op. cit.*, 15. John Bond owned thirteen hundred acres of fine Tennessee land and a large number of slaves. One wonders why he ever accepted eleven dollars for thirty-nine years preaching. J. H. Grime, *History of Middle Tennessee Baptists* (Nashville, 1902), 159. See also Burnett, *op. cit.*, 112; Hosea Holcombe, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Alabama* (Philadelphia, 1840), 42; G. W. Ranck, *The Travelling Church* (n. c., 1910), 35.

⁶*The Baptist Record*, Oct. 5, 1842.

world's goods.⁷ As prosperity came to the preacher he manifested little interest in securing a salary from the church.⁸ To the majority of the Baptist preachers the job of being a preacher was more of an avocation than a vocation. The role gave a prestige to its possessor that was highly courted.

Education was a matter of little concern to both preacher and congregation, for above all requisites ranked the "call" to preach.⁹ The relative importance of a "call" over an education persisted for generations in the Baptist Church. As late as 1835 the Obion Association in West Tennessee opposed the establishment and support of theological institutions because they implied the inadequacy of the Divine Being and his power to call and to equip ministers.¹⁰ Inspiration from the Holy Spirit and ability to quote the scriptures on all occasions were the necessary requisites for preaching. Personal experience and not book-learning was the last ingredient for a good Baptist sermon.¹¹

Little care was used in choosing or licensing preachers. In 1838 a Baptist association in Kentucky resolved that "Any church in our union, having a member or members possessed of preaching talents, and who is a candidate for the ministry, who she [the church] deems worthy of credentials" shall be licensed.¹² William Vaughn was one of four licensed by his church "in a batch, and a more ignorant set," he commented, "would be hard to find. . . . We knew very little and we talked in a way that showed our ignorance. We said 'mout' and 'moutn't,' 'critter' and 'breethren.' And many of them never tried to improve. . . ."¹³ In May, 1823 the Cahawba Church in Alabama agreed that "Brother Thomas Franklin was tolerated to make use of his gift in the way of exhortation on doctrine wherever it may please God to call him and *he thinks* duty to exercise the same."¹⁴

⁷V. A. Moody, "Early Religious Efforts in the Lower Mississippi Valley," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (1935-1936), 174.

⁸B. F. Riley, *A Memorial History of the Baptists of Alabama* (Philadelphia, 1923), 15.

⁹J. A. Broadus, "The American Baptist Ministry One Hundred Years Ago," *The Baptist Quarterly*, IX (1875), 16; Holcombe, *op. cit.*, 96.

¹⁰L. M. Edgar (ed.), *A History of the Primitive Baptists in the Western Districts of Tennessee and Kentucky* (Paris, Tenn., 1881), 56.

¹¹C. H. Storms, *Education Among the American Baptists* (unpublished B. D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1904), 5, 7.

¹²*Minutes of the 18th Annual Drake's Creek (United) Baptist Association*, Sept. 22-24, 1838, p. 4.

¹³T. M. Vaughn, *Memoirs of Rev. Wm. Vaughn., D. D.*, (Louisville, 1878), 267.

¹⁴Cahawba Church Book (Private Collection of M. M. Wood, Birmingham, Ala.), 16. In 1838 the Christianburg (Tenn.) Baptist Church took up the subject of "procuring a Minister to attend hur and take ceare of the church result—Elder John Gwins chose unanimously by the church." A committee was then appointed to

Since the preacher had been "called" by the Lord, he in turn looked to the Lord for his text.¹⁵ The crucified Jesus as the only Savior of lost men usually constituted the theme of most of the preaching. "Many sermons began with the fall of man, touched on the principal doctrines of revelation, gave a Christian's experience, conducted him safely to heaven, and wound up with the resurrection of the dead, the general judgment, the retribution of eternity, and an application of the subject according as 'light and liberty' were concerned."¹⁶

The Baptist preachers "spent but little time in hunting for flowers with which to adorn their discourses; they preached as dying men to dying men. . . ." "Whenever they arose to address the people they usually threw the reins upon the neck of feeling, and let her run full speed."¹⁷ Some of them had a vigorous and inventive imagination. They delighted in figures of speech, and by some means they would contrive to make every statement well defined. "As for parables, they would never leave one till they made it go on all fours; and so fond were they of allegories, that you would think they had been taught in the school of Origen, that everlasting allegorizer."¹⁸ Much spiritualizing and many fanciful interpretations were given to the Scriptures. In their free style Saul's armor on the stripling David was represented as education, and the pebbles which David slung at Goliath were called inspiration—the one was a hindrance; the latter, symbolic of success.¹⁹

Many of the preachers took clear historical passages from the Bible and drew therefrom meanings of which the scribes could never have foreseen. Even a word often served as material for a sermon. One pious minister took the text, "Wherefore, gird up the loins of your mind. . . ." Seizing upon the word "loins," which he confused with "lines," he said: "There were various kinds of lines—lines by which carpenters executed their work—lines for the division of lands—lines of stages for travellers—lines for guiding unruly teams—and in all these uses of the word he found a mystical import, which he unfolded to the delight and for

"bare a purtishion" to the church of which Gwins was a member to obtain its consent. Christianburg Church Records (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tenn.), 22.

¹⁵History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia (Atlanta, 1881), 19.

¹⁶J. B. Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life* (Richmond, 1891), 19-20. See also J. C. Tibbetts, *History of the Coffee Creek Baptist Association* (Sycamore, Ind., n. d.), 15.

¹⁷J. E. Welch, "Early Preachers of Kentucky," *The Christian Repository*, 1856, pp. 290, 292.

¹⁸David Benedict, *Fifty Years Among the Baptists* (New York, 1860), 97.

¹⁹Baptist Denomination in Georgia, 140.

the edification of his hearers." Still other preachers found a spiritual meaning in every letter and further insisted that every crook and dot in every letter carried meaning. One exhorter took the text, "Salvation is of the head." In his effort to explain the mystical something back of each letter he preached thus: "S, saving salvation; A, almighty salvation; L, lasting salvation; V, vast salvation; A—this A, my brethren, signifies the same as the other A; T, eternal salvation . . . ; I, incomprehensible salvation; ON—we will take both these letters together, honorable salvation." With such a foundation he launched forth in further explanation for nearly two hours.²⁰

Humphrey Posey of Georgia was invited to preach for Joel Calley, who was for twenty years moderator of a Georgia association. Posey took for his text Paul's statement, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. . . ." In the course of the sermon Posey commented, "If Paul, a learned man, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, was not ashamed of the Gospel, I ought not to be." Calley was present at the sermon and at the close of the service he attempted to correct a supposed error of Posey's by saying that his Bible differed from the visitor's, and instead of "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," his version read "brought up at the foot of Gammel hill," and he further commented that the hill was so poor it would not sprout peas. Paul, a poor man, was unable to get an education and had learned tent-making in order to earn a living. Another exhorter so misread Luke's description of John (Luke 19:21) that he explained that "an austere man" meant that John was an oyster man who spent his time fishing for oysters.²¹

Usually the successful preacher thundered forth "in unnatural tones, accompanied by violent physical exercises and manifest emotional excitement, [which] in too many cases took the place of intelligent exposition of the truth. . . ."²² An example of the clangorous preacher is found in the case of John Smith, who had the reputation of having a voice easily heard a distance of two miles. Such a stentorian voice was highly desired for "it was a greater gift than learning,"²³ and more convincing than logic. Mastery of the audience's sympathy could be easily gained by the use of a monotonous singing tone in delivery. One member of a Tennessee church remarked that, in truth, the preacher was cry-

²⁰Jeter, *op. cit.*, 20-21.

²¹*Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, 140. For other crude interpretations, see *Missouri Baptist Centennial*, 1906 (Columbia, Mo., 1907), 15-16.

²²A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1900), 382.

²³J. A. Williams, *Life of Elder John Smith* (Cincinnati, 1870), 89.

ing in the wilderness.²⁴ J. B. Jeter was once complimented as a great preacher by a person who declared that Jeter had "most the mournfulest voice" of any man he ever heard.²⁵

Often the preachers spoke with a twang called the "holy whine." As a rule this intonation could be attributed to a natural cause, for men who spoke a great deal in the open air, in order to relieve the strain on their throats, allowed their voices to rise and fall in a marked degree. This tone had much influence upon the emotions of the congregation, and it was often imitated for effectiveness.²⁶ Coupled with strong gestures this "singular tone of voice"²⁷ would move hearers to repentance and conversion.

A peculiar situation existed concerning the support of frontier Baptist preachers. On one hand, the preacher did not expect pay as he generally had a secular source of income;²⁸ while on the other hand, the congregation opposed a paid clergy. This attitude in the main developed as a result of the struggle against the Established Church in Virginia, and to this view many of the preachers gave hearty support.²⁹ Elijah Craig, one of the older preachers who emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky, wrote a broadside in opposition to paying ministers.³⁰ A church member based his opposition on the reason that God had ordained that the Gospel should be dispensed free of charge, and that even though Brother Barnes had ridden a long way to preach he should have no pay, for others had ridden just as far to hear him.³¹ Should a preacher mention the matter of compensation for his labor there would very likely come from some member an "outcry against him as a hireling; as one seeking theirs and not them."³² This attitude brought hardships on those pastors who were unsuccessful business men or who devoted full time to the ministry. One person declared that the people "loved the gospel, and they loved its ministers, but the sound of money drove all the good feelings from their heart."³³

Some Baptists on the frontier were so thoroughly convinced

²⁴"Reminiscences of Hickman Creek Church, in Tennessee," *The Christian Repository*, 1860, p. 267.

²⁵Jeter, *op. cit.*, 23.

²⁶Broadus, "The American Baptist Ministry," *loc. cit.*, IX (1875), 18-19.

²⁷S. C. Williams and S. W. Tindell, *The Baptists of Tennessee* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1930), 6.

²⁸Smith, *op. cit.*, 77-78.

²⁹Jame Ross, *Life and Times of Elder Reuben Ross* (Phila., n. d.), 293-94.

³⁰Vaughn, *op. cit.*, 66.

³¹Williams, *op. cit.*, 78-79.

³²J. L. Boyd, *A Popular History of the Baptists in Mississippi* (Jackson, Miss., 1930), 113.

³³Benedict, *op. cit.*, 61.

of the sin in paying the clergy that one minister said, "The people had learned so thoroughly the lesson of muzzling the ox, that they could see their faithful pastors in want without making much effort to relieve them."³⁴ One Baptist minister contended that the Baptists were so parsimonious in supporting their preachers that the doctrine of the South could be stated, "The Lord keep thee humble, and we'll keep thee poor."³⁵ A minister in Cherokee County, Alabama, served two or three churches for about three years and received a little more than twenty dollars.³⁶ William Vaughn preached two years for the Sycamore Church in Kentucky and for this was given ten dollars. Another preacher was in such dire need that he suggested to the female members of the church that some socks and shirts would be very acceptable.³⁷ An Indiana church secured the services of Elder Jonathan Stark and then arranged to buy a "great coat" for him.³⁸

From the earliest days of the Baptist Church on the frontier there had been attempts on the part of some congregations to support their ministers. As early as 1810 the clerk of David's Fork (Ky.) Church wrote into the church book that "The Church threw down \$62.50" for the purpose of hiring a wagon to haul the belongings of their new pastor, Jeremiah Vardeman.³⁹ The Elkhorn (Ky.) Church in 1825 instructed its commissioners "to raise what they could for the Support of our Preacher William Hickman," and ninety-seven dollars were collected.⁴⁰ Pastors gradually began to demand support from their churches on the ground that "they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel."⁴¹ In 1821 Reverend Blythe of the Cahawba (Ala.) Church agreed to supply on condition that the "Church administer to his necessities."⁴² Hosea Holcombe consented to serve the Canaan (Ala.) Church for another year (1835) "provided they would have regard to his support: and [the] Church unanimously acceded to the terms."⁴³

Consonant with the development of the frontier there came a changed attitude on the part of the church toward the support

³⁴Williams, *op. cit.*, 78.

³⁵Benedict, *op. cit.*, 61.

³⁶Holcombe, *op. cit.*, 257.

³⁷Vaughn, *op. cit.*, 66-67, 225.

³⁸W. T. Stott, *Indiana Baptist History* (n. c., 1908), 44.

³⁹*Brief History of David's Fork Baptist Church* (Louisville, 1876), 8.

⁴⁰Minutes, Forks of Elkhorn Baptist Church (Library of the Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.), I, (1788-1831), Jan. 15, 1825.

⁴¹Williams, *op. cit.*, 79.

⁴²Cahawba Church Book, 12.

⁴³Records of Canaan Baptist Church of Christ (Private Collection of M. M. Wood, Birmingham, Ala.), 77. For ministerial Support see Holcombe, *op. cit.*, 257, 322-29.

of its clergy. By 1835 the Nashville congregation was paying its pastor, R. B. C. Howell, a yearly salary of one thousand dollars.⁴⁴ Even Henry Adams, Negro pastor of the African branch of the First Baptist Church in Louisville, was paid a salary of five hundred dollars in 1839.⁴⁵

As the crude frontier began to give way to educational and cultural forces many changes occurred in the preacher and his manner of preaching. With the development of the West there grew an increased demand for a better educated ministry. The old and uneducated preachers were, as a consequence, forced to fight for their hold upon the people in order to maintain their religious caste. They were definite and unvarnished in their reasons for opposition against the better trained preachers and missionaries. A "plain old man" who was a licensed preacher in the Baptist Church was asked to state his opposition to missionaries. After rather careful evasion he finally let out the secret by saying, "I don't know nothing about them missionaries that go off to the heathen yonder, they tell us about, but what must they come amongst us for? If we allow them to come into our churches, the people will all go to hear them preach, and won't go to hear us preach, and we shall all be put down." This fear was nurtured in spite of "revelation after revelation, proving to them by lightning—thunder storms—falling limbs, or some other extraordinary phenomena, their call to preach the gospel."⁴⁶

It is not to be questioned that jealousy of the better educated preachers was one of the leading factors in the opposition. Coupled with this jealousy there developed an additional attack in the anti-missionary movement which not only opposed a paid and trained ministry but also objected to centralization of authority. The adherers to this group contended that missionary and other societies within the church were contrary to the scriptures.⁴⁷

In spite of the opposition of the older preachers and many of the lay members, the church as a whole was unwilling to lose ground by failure to keep step with the increasing intellectual forces. R. B. C. Howell, of Nashville, Tennessee, aptly stated

As late as 1842 the Tennessee Association of United Baptists ordered that the deacons or committees of the churches should "supply the smoke-houses and corn-cribs of their ministers." *Minutes of the Tennessee Association of United Baptists* (Knoxville, 1840-45), 6.

⁴⁴*The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, Jan. 27, 1842.

⁴⁵*Minutes of the 36th Annual Meeting of the Long Run Association of Baptists*, Sept. 6, 1839.

⁴⁶Holcombe, *op. cit.*, 266-67. Also see *ibid.*, 88-89.

⁴⁷W. W. Sweet (ed.), *Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists* (New York, 1931), 72-74; W. C. James, "A History of the Western Baptist Theological Institute," *Publications of the Kentucky Baptist Historical Society*, 1910, pp. 36-37.

the opposition of wise church leaders to the old type of preacher when he said, "Of ministers, who give six days in every week to their farms and their merchandise, who go to church on the seventh, there talk about farming, market, politics, & c. till 12 o'clock, and then preach a swinging singsong sermon of two hours, beginning in Genesis and closing in Revelations, and then off again to their worldly business, we have our share."⁴⁸

The general policy toward the new demands for a trained clergy was well expressed by a Baptist member who sent his own son to college. "Once I was of the opinion," he said, "that educating young ministers was worse than useless, for I thought the Lord would qualify those whom he calls to this great work. . . . When I was young and the people were less *knowing* than now, learning seemed to be wholly unnecessary; but as the world is becoming more enlightened, especially in towns, I feel it to be the duty of preachers to keep pace with others."⁴⁹

On rare occasions associations had been interested in promoting the education of the preacher to the extent that resolutions were passed to this effect. In 1815 the Salem (Ky.) Association resolved that "We know that human Education is not the essential qualification [*sic*] necessary for one who preaches the gospel of Christ, yet we know that it is necessary for those that preach . . . to have an Education, at least as much as to understand the language of those to whom they preach."⁵⁰ The first convention of Baptists in Alabama, held in 1823, declared itself in favor of "the education of pious and intelligent young men called to the ministry."⁵¹ In 1842 the Tennessee Association of United Baptists recommended "the formation of an Education Society for East Tennessee, the grand object of which to be the education of pious and faithful young men of the Baptist profession . . . for the Ministry."⁵²

With the passing of the years the church not only acknowledged its duty to support its ministry, but also to aid in ministerial education.⁵³ Rapid expansion gave evidence of its ability to cope successfully with the problems of a vigorous, forward marching frontier folk.

⁴⁸*The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, Jan. 30, 1840. For similar pleas see *ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1844; *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1839), 26-27, 28; *A Republication of the Minutes of the Mississippi Baptist Association* (New Orleans, 1849), 61.

⁴⁹*The Christian Index*, July 16, 1831.

⁵⁰*Minutes of the Salem Association of Baptists*, Oct. 13-14, 1815, p. 2.

⁵¹T. M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama History* (4 vols., Chicago, 1921), I, 103.

⁵²*Minutes of the Tennessee Association of United Baptists*, 5.

⁵³Ross, *op. cit.*, 295; *The Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, June 9, 1842.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNIONIST VICTORY IN THE ELECTION OF FEBRUARY 9, 1861 IN TENNESSEE

By MARY R. CAMPBELL

A significant though little known election occurred in Tennessee on February 9, 1861. On this occasion, the voters, keenly aware of the gravity of the crisis confronting the country but still hopeful of its peaceful solution, indicated a strong desire to have their state remain a part of the sort of Union which they believed that the "founding fathers" had created. The issue was clearly drawn between the Unionists and the disunionists on the basis of the *status quo*, i. e., peace. The discussion preceding and immediately following this election, however, rather definitely foreshadowed subsequent developments within the state.

Throughout the decade and a half preceding this election, Tennesseans, like their fellow-citizens in other states, had been more or less fearful concerning the perpetuity of the Union. However, it was the result of the presidential contest of 1860 and the train of events immediately following it that pointed the issue at this time.¹

As soon as the news of Lincoln's victory arrived, virtually the entire press of the state began stressing the necessity of maintaining an attitude of calmness. The tone of the press apparently reflected the "moderate and conservative" sentiments of the great majority of people of both parties.² Hope that Tennessee, admittedly conservative, might serve as a mediator in settling the difficulties between the North and the South was widespread and fervent. Moreover, there was a general feeling that the state could best protect its own interests by remaining cool and careful.

¹Mary R. Campbell, "Tennessee and the Union, 1847-1861," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 10 (Knoxville, 1938), 71-82.

²For example, see the following: Henry Watterson to A. O. P. Nicholson, Nov. 16, 1860, A. O. P. Nicholson Papers (Manuscripts Division, New York Historical Society); draft of a letter from William H. Polk to "My Dear Sir," Nov. 19, 1860, Polk Papers (Manuscripts Division, North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh); W. C. Whitthorne to A. O. P. Nicholson, Dec. 1, 1860, Andrew Johnson Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress); an entry of Nov. 29, 1860 in the Diary of John H. Bills of Bolivar, Tenn. (Southern Historical Collection, Library of the University of North Carolina). Consult also: *Patriot* (Nashville), Nov. 8, 1860; *Chronicle* (Clarksville), Nov. 9, 1860; *Maury Press* (Columbia), Nov. 14, 1860; *Rutherford Telegraph* (Murfreesboro), Nov. 10, 1860; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Nov. 10, 1860; *Appeal* (Memphis), Nov. 18, 1860; *Lincoln Journal* (Fayetteville), Nov. 15, 1860; *Union and American* (Nashville), Nov. 18, 1860. The *Avalanche* (Memphis) and the *Register* (Knoxville) were the relatively important papers in the state which

Since the immediate concern of the major portion of the press and public alike, therefore, was with the role that the state should play in the national crisis, it was logical that the question of the governor's calling a special session of the General Assembly should arise. Since the proponents of the convention generally desired cooperative rather than separate state action in the crisis, they believed that the primary object of this session should be to provide for a state convention which should bring about a "conference of Southern States" to allay the sectional strife which was threatening to disrupt the Union.⁸ About the middle of November there appeared in the newspapers of Knoxville a call for a public meeting in that city to consider the general condition of national affairs.⁹ The *Memphis Appeal* of November 18 suggested that the people urge Governor Isham G. Harris to convene the General Assembly for the purpose of deliberating concerning the state of political affairs in the country.¹⁰ On November 25 Neill S. Brown, Andrew Ewing, Leon Trousdale, E. H. Ewing and "other prominent gentlemen of all parties" issued a statement through the press of Nashville recommending that the people assemble in primary meetings to request the governor to call the General Assembly together.¹¹

Subsequently people in practically all counties throughout the state held meetings in which they expressed their views on the state of national affairs and generally requested the governor to call the General Assembly into extra session. Varying degrees of success

occupied advanced positions on the question of secession. F. C. Gallaher to O. P. Temple, Aug. 11, Sept. 7, 1860. Oliver P. Temple Papers (Tennessee Collection, Library of the University of Tennessee); *Appeal*, Dec. 13, 1860; *Avalanche*, Feb. 3, 1860. At the opposite extreme was the *Bulletin* (Memphis) which advocated a continued policy of "masterly inactivity." *Appeal*, Nov. 29, 1860.

⁸*Union and American*, Nov. 18, 22, 1860. At this time the *Patriot* and the *Appeal*, which desired the governor to convene the General Assembly and provide for Tennessee's representation in a convention of the Southern states, saw no necessity for a state convention as they considered the General Assembly the proper body to represent the state. *Patriot*, Nov. 23, 1860; *Appeal*, Nov. 22, 1860.

⁹Both O. P. Temple and W. G. Brownlow characterized this as a move of the secessionists, although the *Tri-Weekly Whig* had previously carried a communication from John Baxter, a prominent Unionist, and an editorial written or authorized by Brownlow endorsing the idea of a convention of delegates from the slaveholding states for consultation and action. The chief object of the proposed meeting at Knoxville was to urge the convening of the General Assembly which, among other things, should select delegates to a convention of the Southern states. A group of Unionist leaders in Knoxville gained control of an adjourned session of this meeting and prevented the adoption of a resolution embodying this provision and secured the acceptance of one saying that Tennessee recognized "no constitutional right in any state, or combination of states, to force her into an attitude of hostility to the Union." Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 148-56.

¹⁰The *Appeal*, which had supported Douglas for the presidency in 1860, stated that it was understood in private circles that Governor Harris did not consider the recent Republican victory sufficient cause for secession.

attended the effort to make these meetings strictly non-partisan and to create a feeling of unity. In the main, however, it seems that the usual alignment was between Unionists on the one hand and dis-unionists on the other, with the former constituting a large majority.⁷

Governor Harris, in accordance with what seemed to be the popular will, called the General Assembly to meet in extra session on January 7, 1861. The understanding was that the assembly would take into consideration both the political and economic crises confronting the people of the state.

There was apparently very little opposition to the governor's calling the assembly into extra session. A large number of people felt that it was definitely desirable for the assembly to take into account the state of national affairs and, if possible, to put the state in position to exercise a moderating influence in the sectional controversy. Furthermore, the hope that the assembly would do something to alleviate the distressing financial and economic conditions facing the people of the state itself probably caused many to refrain from opposing its meeting.⁸

However, there were those who were by no means enthusiastic about the assembly's convening. This group believed that the legislators, who had been elected in 1859, could not be considered "fair exponents of popular sentiment," and they were also of the opinion that the body as a whole was not "capable of grappling successfully the vital issues to be presented for its consideration."⁹ In addition, there were some who still wished to continue a policy of "masterly inactivity."¹⁰

Meanwhile, Tennessee's congressional delegation had returned to Washington for the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress. Its members were eager to obtain first-hand information as to the views of their Northern colleagues on the crisis confronting the country. They ardently desired that Congress should speedily work out a compromise which would compose the differences be-

⁷*Union and American*, Nov. 24, 25, 1860. Neill S. Brown was a former Whig governor. Andrew Ewing, a former Democratic congressman, had favored the Compromise of 1850. Leon Trousdale was one of the publishers of the *Union and American*, the leading Democratic journal of the state. E. H. Ewing, a brother of Andrew Ewing, was a former Whig congressman.

⁸*Lincoln Journal*, Dec. 13, 1860; *Union and American*, Dec. 2, 1860; W. C. Whitthorne to A. O. P. Nicholson, Dec. 1, 1860, Johnson Papers; A. W. Howard to T. A. R. Nelson, Nov. 23, 1860, T. A. R. Nelson Papers (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville); Temple, *op. cit.*, 149-63.

⁹*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Dec. 6, 1860; *Lincoln Journal*, Dec. 13, 1860; *Patriot*, Dec. 5, 1860.

¹⁰*Chronicle*, Dec. 14, 1860.

¹¹The *Appeal* of Nov. 29, 1860 commented on the *Bulletin's* advocacy of such a course.

tween the North and the South and thereby preserve the Union."¹¹ As a matter of course the delegation was keeping in close touch with affairs back home and its members were exerting their influence to prevent hasty and ill-advised action.¹²

Within the space of less than a week, during which time one state, South Carolina, actually passed an ordinance of secession, Tennessee's senators, who were Democrats and who had been close political friends during the preceding decade,¹³ discussed the national crisis on the floor of the Senate. Senator Andrew Johnson and Senator A. O. P. Nicholson alike pleaded for the enactment of measures which would preserve the Union. Both considered the South to be justified in demanding redress of grievances and additional guarantees from the North. Beyond these points, however, there was a sharp divergence of opinion. Senator Johnson vigorously denied that a state had a "constitutional right" to secede and asserted that although the federal government did not have the power to coerce a state, it did have the power to "enforce and execute the laws upon individuals within the limits of a State." Senator Nicholson, who merely indicated his belief that secession was a revolutionary act, insisted that regardless of the technical distinction between the power of "executing the laws of the United States within the territorial limits of South Carolina" and that of "subduing the people of the state and coercing them back to their allegiance to the United States," the two propositions were equivalent. "A resort to force for either purpose" amounted to "a war upon the state of South Carolina."¹⁴

Senator Johnson's speech, it seems, was primarily a forceful and unequivocal exposition of his personal beliefs designed mainly

¹¹It is worthy of note that not a single one of Tennessee's congressional delegation was among the signers of an address, "To Our Constituents," which a group of Southern members issued on December 14, 1860 saying that the Republicans would make no concessions satisfactory to the South and recommending separate state secession and the organization of a Southern confederacy. Except for Virginia, Tennessee was the only Southern state which had no representative in this group. John G. Nicolay, *The Outbreak of Rebellion, Campaigns of the Civil War Series* (New York, 1941), Note *, 26-27.

¹²Letter from A. O. P. Nicholson to the editors of the *Union and American*, Dec. 13, 1860; Letter of James H. Thomas to the citizens of the sixth congressional district, *Union and American*, Jan. 1, 1861; Letter of Hon. William T. Avery of Tennessee to his Constituents (Washington, Dec. 27, 1860), (Library of Congress), 1-2; Robert Hatton to William B. Campbell, Jan. 24, 29, Feb. 4, 1861, William B. Campbell Papers (in possession of Hon. Lemuel R. Campbell when used by the writer but now in the Library of Duke University); Horace Maynard to Oliver P. Temple, Jan. 29, 1861, Temple Papers. James H. Thomas and J. M. Quarles each introduced in the House resolutions which the General Assembly of Tennessee had passed on the national crisis. *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 1, 435, 599.

¹³Andrew Johnson to A. O. P. Nicholson, May 11, 1851, Nicholson Papers.

¹⁴*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 1, 117-20, 134-43, 185-89.

to formulate and guide public opinion in his state.¹⁵ Senator Nicholson's speech of course set forth his individual opinions, but apparently its chief purpose was to interpret what he conceived to be the sentiment of the majority in Tennessee.

These speeches provoked very different reactions in Tennessee. That of Senator Johnson excited widespread comment, most of which indicated either enthusiastic approval or decided disapproval. Most of the leaders and some of the rank and file of the Democratic party in all sections of the state took issue sharply with Johnson,¹⁶ although he was the acknowledged leader of the party in the state.¹⁷ Some of the Democratic leaders and a large portion of the party's membership, particularly in East Tennessee, approved of his stand under existing conditions.¹⁸ Johnson's speech apparently met with the approval of many of the leaders and a large percentage of the members of the Constitutional Union party, especially in East Tennessee.¹⁹ Whereas Senator Johnson's speech evoked much discussion, that of Senator Nicholson called forth very little.²⁰ As the views of the Senators on the crucial problem of coercion were diametrically opposed, this difference in amount of comment was significant. Apparently the very fact that Senator Nicholson's speech attracted little attention would seem to indicate that it did not do violence to the feelings of any substantial portion of Tennessee's population.

Between the time when Governor Harris issued the call for an extra session of the General Assembly and the time when it

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 744.

¹⁶W. C. Kyle to T. A. R. Nelson, Feb. 6, 1861, Nelson Papers; M. R. Henley to Andrew Johnson, Jan. 7, 1861, Johnson Papers. There was a rumor that the General Assembly would instruct Senator Johnson to resign from the Senate. The *Republican Banner* (Nashville), Jan. 8, 1861. The *Union and American*, heretofore a supporter of Johnson's, was leading the attack on him. Representative Beatty of Giles County introduced a resolution asking Senator Johnson to resign, but it apparently received little support. Robert Johnson to Andrew Johnson, Jan. 13, 1861, Johnson Papers. Robert Johnson, son of Senator Andrew Johnson, was a representative from Greene, Hancock, Hawkins, and Jefferson counties in the lower house of the General Assembly.

¹⁷George W. Jones, *Oration . . . at The Unveiling of the Monument to the Memory of Ex-President Andrew Johnson, at Greeneville, Tennessee, June 5, 1878* (Nashville, 1878), 11.

¹⁸Samuel Milligan to Andrew Johnson, Dec. 24, 1860; H. M. Watterson to Andrew Johnson, Jan. 4, 1861; Cave Johnson to Andrew Johnson (undated, but located in the volume containing letters dated between Dec. 22, 1860 and Jan. 3, 1861) Johnson Papers. Johnson received many other letters indicating that a large number of the rank and file of Democrats approved of his position. *Lincoln Journal*, Jan. 3, 1861. (This paper bears the date of Jan. 3, 1860, but an examination of its contents reveals that its actual date is Jan. 3, 1861.) *Gazette* (Chattanooga), Jan. 8, 1861.

¹⁹Robert Johnson to Andrew Johnson, Jan. 13, 1861; M. D. L. Boren to Andrew Johnson, Jan. 7, 1861, Johnson Papers. *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Jan. 5, 1861.

²⁰*Lincoln Journal*, Jan. 3, 1861.

convened, sentiment in favor of the dissolution of the Union had increased somewhat in Tennessee. South Carolina's secession, which had angered and depressed the people of Tennessee generally,²¹ and the increasing likelihood that the states of the Lower South were preparing to follow its example contributed to this development. So did the growing certainty that the Republicans would not agree to redress the South's grievances.²²

When the General Assembly convened on January 7, Governor Harris delivered a message in which he stated clearly and forcefully his conception of the existing state of affairs. He made a vigorous indictment of the North for its aggressions against the South. Although he personally had no doubt as to the "necessity and propriety of calling a State Convention, at the Capitol. [sic] at Nashville, at the earliest day practicable, to take into consideration our federal relations, and determine what action shall be taken by the State of Tennessee for the security and peace of her citizens," he recommended that the General Assembly submit the question to a vote of the people. He suggested five amendments to the Constitution which, "if there be a remedy for the evils which afflict the country, consistent with the perpetuity of the Union," would secure the rights of the South and maintain peace. He declared his belief that Tennesseans would not "admit the right or policy of coercion."²³

By joint resolutions of January 14, the General Assembly created a joint committee from both houses to deal with the portion of the governor's message relating to the political condition of the country.²⁴ This committee considered numerous bills and resolutions from both houses.

Representative George Gantt introduced a bill which provided for an election in which the people would vote for "Convention" or "No Convention" at an election on February 9. At the same

²¹James W. Fertig, *Secession and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chicago, 1898), 15.

²²For example, Representative William T. Avery, of the district which included Memphis, informed his constituents that he had been hopeful of a settlement of the sectional dispute when he arrived in Washington about the first of December, but that by the last part of the month he had despaired of it. He was convinced that there was "a grand war between the slave States and the free States" who had "by their voice alone," elected their president "to rule over" us, and who would make no concessions of value to the South. Therefore, the only problem confronting the "sovereign people" of Tennessee, he thought, was to decide whether their state should go with the North or the South or take part in the formation of a "middle republic." He personally favored going with the South. *Letter of Hon. William T. Avery of Tennessee to his Constituents*, 1-2, 6.

²³*Public Acts of the State of Tennessee*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, pp. 1-12. Some have said that this message was "the ablest and most succinct as well as the most intelligent presentation and justification of the reasons for the actions of the seceding state." John R. Neal, *Disunion and Restoration in Tennessee* (New York, 1899), 4.

²⁴*Public Acts*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, Resolutions 4, 5, and 6.

time they were to select delegates to the proposed convention which was to meet in Nashville on February 25, if the people voted for "Convention." The measure passed first and second readings and went to the Joint Committee on Federal Relations. Senator R. G. Payne introduced a bill providing for the people to vote on the question of holding a convention. This measure passed first and second readings and went to the Joint Committee on Federal Relations.²⁵ When the committee reported these bills back to their respective houses, debate in both houses centered on almost identical amendments providing for the submission of any action by the proposed convention designed to change the state's relationship to the "National Union or her sister southern States"²⁶ to a vote of the qualified voters.²⁷ The amendment in the House carried by a vote of forty-four to twenty-three and that in the Senate passed by a vote of fourteen to eight. These votes showed no pronounced sectional cleavage. Members from East Tennessee approved of the measures by a majority of slightly more than fifty per cent; those from West Tennessee favored it by a majority of a little more than twenty-five per cent; those from Middle Tennessee accepted it by a majority of fifteen per cent.²⁸ Attempts of Senator Jordan Stokes and Representative J. G. McCabe to have the words "Union" and "disunion" appear on the voters' tickets failed.²⁹ Both the Senate and the House unanimously accepted the amended bills. The

²⁵*House Journal of the State of Tennessee*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, pp. 35, 40; *Senate Journal of the State of Tennessee*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, pp. 25, 35.

²⁶*Public Acts*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, Chapter 1, Section 8.

²⁷Robert Johnson to Andrew Johnson, Jan. 13, 1861, Johnson Papers. Journal kept by Judge William M. Bradford During the Extra Session[s] of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee in 1861 and Other Miscellaneous material (type-written copy, Public Library, Chattanooga). Representative Jones introduced the amendment in the House and Senator Hildreth introduced the amendment in the Senate. *House Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, p. 53; *Senate Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, p. 37.

²⁸The sectional distribution of the votes for the amendment in the House was as follows: East Tennessee, 16; Middle Tennessee, 18; and West Tennessee, 9. That against it was: East Tennessee, 5; Middle Tennessee, 14; and West Tennessee, 4. *House Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, p. 62. The sectional distribution of the votes for the amendment in the Senate was as follows: East Tennessee, 6; Middle Tennessee, 5; and West Tennessee, 3. That against it was: East Tennessee, 2; Middle Tennessee, 3; and West Tennessee, 3. *Senate Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, p. 37.

²⁹Senator Stokes' amendment failed by a vote of 13 to 9. This vote revealed no pronounced sectional cleavage. Senators from East Tennessee were evenly divided on the amendment; those from Middle Tennessee were against it by a slight margin; and those from West Tennessee were opposed to it by a majority of two to one. *Senate Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, p. 36. During the course of the rather exciting debate on his amendment, Senator Stokes, replying to an insinuation to the effect that he was a "submissionist," declared that "Such epithets as that applied to any citizen of the State of Tennessee, by a Senator upon that floor, were insulting to the people and degrading to the Senate of the State." *Republican Banner*, Jan. 12, 1861. Speaker W. C. Whitthorne ruled Representative McCabe's amendment out of order. *House Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, p. 106.

Senate substituted the bill which had originated in the House for its own bill and the measure became law on January 19.³⁰

The General Assembly selected a delegation to represent Tennessee in the "General Convention of Southern States" or the Peace Convention called to meet at Washington on February 4, 1861. It specifically provided that this delegation might meet and confer with the delegates from non-slaveholding states after it had met with those from the slaveholding states and determined upon the policy which Southern states were to pursue. Furthermore, it instructed the governor to furnish Tennessee's delegates with "copies of the several resolutions on the subject," *i. e.*, apparently, the national crisis.³¹

During the course of the session the General Assembly passed a number of resolutions giving expression to its views on the crisis facing the country. They were designed to facilitate a peaceful solution of the bitter sectional dispute endangering the very existence of the Union. One of these respectfully requested that "in view of the danger of civil war" and "to the end that if possible peace may yet be preserved" the President of the United States and the authorities of each of the Southern states "reciprocally communicate assurances" to the General Assembly of Tennessee that "the *status quo* of all movements tending to coercion, and concerning the forts and arsenals of the nation shall, on either hand be strictly maintained for the present except to repel any actual invasion." Another declared that the General Assembly had heard with "profound regret" of the resolution of the legislature of New York tendering men and money to the President for use in coercing certain "sovereign states" of the South into obedience to the federal government and it asked the governor of Tennessee to inform the governor of New York that whenever the armed forces of that state should come into the South for the purpose indicated, the people of Tennessee would "resist . . . at any hazard and to the last extremity." A third resolution provided for Tennessee's representation in a convention of delegates from all slaveholding states to assemble at Nashville or elsewhere on February 4, 1861 "to digest and define

³⁰*House Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, pp. 61-62; *Senate Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, p. 59; *Public Acts*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, Chapter 1.

³¹*Senate Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, pp. 98-107; *Public Acts*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, Joint Resolutions 13 and 18. On February 1, I. W. Newman, speaker of the Senate, introduced a resolution providing for the appointment of commissioners to attend the Convention of Southern States at Montgomery, Alabama on February 4, 1861. The Senate rejected this resolution by a vote of eleven to nine. Inasmuch as Senator Hildreth subsequently moved to reconsider the vote, it seems that he probably voted on the prevailing side in order to secure reconsideration rather than to express his real sentiment. *Senate Journal*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, pp. 247, 250-51, 253. There was no move in the House to send delegates to Montgomery.

a basis upon which, if possible the Federal Union and the Constitutional rights of the slave states may be perpetuated and preserved," and expressed the opinion that the plan of adjustment should include in substance as amendments to the Constitution nine suggested propositions guaranteeing and protecting slavery.³²

During the time when the people of Tennessee were debating the advisability of holding a state convention to consider Tennessee's position in relation to the crisis in national affairs, nearly all of their representatives, following the precedent of Senators Johnson and Nicholson, discussed the state of the Union on the floor of the House.³³ They sought to interpret the condition of affairs in Tennessee and the South generally to their Northern colleagues, particularly the Republicans, and to the people of the North. They hoped that this would lead to such concessions as would enable the Union men in the border states to stay the tide of secession in their own states at least. They felt that with the secession movement checked, there was a possibility of effecting a reconciliation between the states of the Lower South, with the probably exception of South Carolina, and those of the North. In view of the fact that Tennessee's representatives were keeping in close touch with affairs in Tennessee, it is probable that they were trying to influence opinion there in the matter of the convention.³⁴

Tennesseans generally were much perturbed over the "great and distracting question which now disturbs the country in all its parts and in all vocations and pursuits." For some time the *Nashville Democrat* had been urging the "assembling of the people without respect to party, for the purpose of ascertaining and giving expression to the public sentiment." The *Republican Banner* and

³²*Public Acts*, Ex. Sess., Jan., 1861, Resolutions 7 and 13 and Joint Resolution 9. In its issue of Jan. 26, 1861, the *Republican Banner*, one of the most conservative and influential papers in the state, expressed the belief that these proposals were "satisfactory to the great mass of the people," for "They substantially adopt the Crittenden compromise as a basis of adjustment of the pending issues between the people of North and South; and Tennessee will say to the people of the North, not in a spirit of blustering defiance and braggadocio, but firmly and calmly, and with a sincere and honest desire that this adjustment may be accepted—we demand nothing more—we will accept nothing less."

³³Congressman John V. Wright, Democrat from the seventh district, did not make a speech on the state of the Union. Congressman Reese B. Brabson, Opposition member from the third district, who was unable to deliver his speech on account of an injury, received permission to insert it in the *Congressional Globe* as of March 2, 1861. *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 2, 1432.

³⁴Robert Hatton to William B. Campbell, Jan. 24, 29, Feb. 4, 1861, Campbell Papers; Horace Maynard to Oliver P. Temple, Jan. 29, 1861, Temple Papers; *Letter of Hon. William T. Avery of Tennessee to his Constituents*; Letter of James H. Thomas to the citizens of the sixth congressional district, *Union and American*, Jan. 1, 1861. J. M. Quarles and James H. Thomas each introduced in the House resolutions which the General Assembly of Tennessee had passed on the national crisis. *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 1, 435, 599.

the *Patriot* were not unfriendly to this proposal, but the *Union and American* took the position that "public meetings are calculated to do harm rather than good." A proposal that the state's executive committees of the Constitutional Union party and of both wings of the Democratic party issue a call for a meeting of all parties in Nashville came to naught.³⁶

A very large majority of Tennesseans were still conservative. The "dogged silence of the Republicans" on the question of compromises acceptable to the South, however, was tending to undermine this conservatism. Many felt that much depended on the fate of the Crittenden compromise because they feared that its defeat would make it "impossible to stem the current of public opinion in favor of Secession, as it [the Crittenden compromise] has been adopted by many Union Conservate [*sic*] men as an ultimatum."³⁷ Despite their deep desire to oppose Northern aggression and spurn Southern dictation,³⁷ it was apparently becoming increasingly clear to a slowly growing number of Tennesseans that the practical problem confronting them would ultimately resolve itself into a question of "union or disunion for existing causes." They were beginning to fear that they would eventually have to choose

Whether they will remain true and loyal to the government of their fathers and demand of those in power a faithful administration of that government, or whether they will destroy all the safeguards and guarantees of security which it affords, and take their chances in the formation of a government, the character, plan and form of which they know nothing.³⁸ Nevertheless, they felt that they had nothing to gain and much to lose by deciding the matter with undue haste.

As a matter of course, the campaign preceding the election on "Convention" and "No Convention" was a heated one. The fact that there were two very active minority groups of widely divergent views who made energetic efforts to win the election contributed greatly to the warmth of the contest. These were the unconditional Unionists, located mainly in East Tennessee, and the secessionists scattered throughout the state.

In this election the people were to consider two propositions. First, there was the problem of deciding whether or not to hold the convention. Second, there was the matter of selecting delegates who had the right conception of the proper course for the state to pursue. Apparently, the chief emphasis was upon the choice of

³⁶*Lincoln Journal*, Jan. 22, 1861. Although this paper bears the date Jan. 22, 1860, a study of its contents shows that its actual date is Jan. 22, 1861.

³⁷Draft of a letter of William H. Polk to "My Dear Sir," Jan. 14, 1861, Polk Papers.

³⁸*Ibid.*; William H. Polk to "My Dear Sir," Jan. 8, 1861, Polk Papers.

³⁹*Lincoln Journal*, Jan. 22, 1861.

delegates. The proponents and opponents of the convention alike, however, urged the people to vote on both proposals in order that Tennessee might make its attitude unmistakably clear and so be in a better position to assist in working out a solution of the difficulties between the North and the South.

There were three different points of view concerning the proposed convention. The extreme Southern rights advocates or radicals favored it and hoped to elect delegates who, if such a thing were possible, would bring about Tennessee's immediate secession. A majority of the Unionists or conservatives opposed the convention because they believed that there was no real need for it and because they feared that the disunionists might somehow get control of it and take the state out of the Union. A minority of the Unionists, however, approved of the convention as they believed that conservatives would control it and use it as a means of checking or rendering powerless the disunion sentiment in the state. Both groups of Unionists urged everyone to support Union candidates so that in case there should be a convention those of moderate views would control it.

The radical group, which apparently consisted mainly of Democrats drawn from both the Breckinridge and Douglas factions of the party, hailed this election as an opportunity to select strong "Southern Right Anti-Coercion" men to guide the state's destiny. The *Union and American*, the leader of this group in Middle Tennessee, advised the people to

select men who will resist coercion to the death. Select men who are opposed to all compromises that do not promptly and, forever settle the differences existing between the Black Republicans and the South, in a manner satisfactory to the South. Select men who have the intelligence to know your rights and the courage to maintain them.³⁹

The *Avalanche*, the chief spokesman for the most extreme pro-Southern group in West Tennessee, regretted that "the provisions of the Bill [calling the convention] forces Tennessee to remain in the Union a few days longer than her people desire," and declared that secessionists must go to work to elect their strongest men.⁴⁰

The majority of the Unionists, under the leadership of the *Republican Banner* and *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, were either apathetic toward or positively hostile to the proposed convention. Many Democrats, particularly in East Tennessee, where Andrew Johnson's influence was very strong,⁴¹ concurred in one or the other of these views. This entire group considered the move to hold a

³⁹ Jan. 20, 1861.

⁴⁰ Jan. 21, 1861.

⁴¹ W. C. Kyle to T. A. R. Nelson, Feb. 6, 1861, Nelson Papers.

convention only another attempt on the part of the secessionists to gain control and carry the state out of the Union. Even though the proposed convention should not bring about the withdrawal of the state from the Union, they believed that it would further inflame sectional antagonisms and so indirectly promote the cause of secession. They constantly emphasized the fact that "All opposed to a convention are opposed to secession and will therefore vote for anti-secession delegates."⁴²

A portion of the Unionists, for whom the *Patriot* was the chief spokesman, actively supported the move to call the convention in the belief that calm, dispassioned discussion by such a body would clarify the situation. They were confident that the group would be conservative. Even though such should not be the case, however, they felt that there was little reason to fear harm as any action of the convention affecting Tennessee's relations with either the national government or the seceded states was subject to the vote of the people. These Unionists urged the people to vote for Union delegates, as they claimed that they were "neither unconditional Unionists nor unconditional revolutionists" and therefore occupied "what we conceive to be the true position of right and justice and will assert both to all sections and at all hazards."⁴³

Proponents and opponents of the convention alike sought to break party lines both in the vote on holding the convention and in the choice of delegates. One of Senator John J. Crittenden's correspondents in Middle Tennessee wrote him that the Constitutional Union party was mostly Unionist, but that the "Breckinridge party" was "strongly tinctured with disunion."⁴⁴ However, he continued, we are "doing all we can to lift the present question above party prejudice."⁴⁵ *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig* said, "Now let our Union people bring out able and true men, irrespective of old party associations. We have no parties but Union men and Disunionists."⁴⁶ Other Constitutional Union papers occupied a simi-

⁴²*Republican Banner*, Jan. 29, Feb. 13, 1861; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Jan. 19, 26, Feb. 2, 1861.

⁴³Feb. 3, 1861.

⁴⁴It is worthy of note that Cave Johnson, a former Democratic congressman and postmaster general under President James K. Polk, and Andrew Ewing, another prominent Democratic leader of Middle Tennessee, were making active efforts to bring about the election of Union delegates. Indeed, they themselves were Union candidates for the convention. Letter to William B. Campbell, Jan. 6, 1861, Campbell Papers; *Union and American*, Jan. 29, 1861; W. P. Titus, *Picturesque Clarksville* (Clarksville, Tenn., 1870), 98.

⁴⁵T. W. Watkins, Jan. 19, 1861, John J. Crittenden Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

⁴⁶Jan. 19, 1861.

lar position. The leading secessionist or disunion papers were also of the opinion that there were only two groups, Unionists and disunionists, without regard to party affiliation."

Both the Unionists and the disunionists made strong appeals for the votes of the small slaveholders. One editorial writer, who was a very strong Unionist, asserted that

This Slavery Aristocracy is to overshadow and dishonor white men. Look out, ye border State men, and all ye poor men in the South who don't own Negroes! Your condition is to be worse, and your social position far below that of free Negroes! The majority of voters in all these border States, are men who own no Negroes, but they are a people who love liberty, secured, regulated, and guarded by Constitutions, as it has been from the foundation of our Government.⁴⁷

In contrast, another editorial writer, who was a pronounced disunionist, pointed out that most of the slaveholders in Tennessee were among the laboring class and were therefore very much interested in slavery and secession. Emancipation, by flooding the country with free blacks, would reduce the price of labor. This would be injurious to the whites because, as things were, their wages were higher than those of their contemporaries in the North. The working classes were unwilling, furthermore, for their children to become "ostlers, shoe-blacks, carriage drivers, washerwomen and house servants of wealthy landlords, the rich merchants and lordly bankers of the country, while they themselves shall be put on a level with the free blacks." "One Raised at the Handles of the Plow" warned the workers of the South to observe that property had created castes in the North and urged them to look to their interests.⁴⁸ Still another editor denounced the "pitiable littleness" of "Union-shriekers" who had called upon the "working men" of Memphis to listen to addresses by the rich and proud who would not have them at their tables. He described the Unionist claim that the "working men" had suffered most from the disunion movements and that in case of war would have "to do the fighting" as a paltry appeal to passion, a mean effort to make the working man believe that he had no interest in slavery. Since this idea was the same as Helper's in his "scandalous and disgraceful" book,⁴⁹ the writer declared that its proponents had stolen it from abolition literature. While he did not have time to expose this fallacy, he said, he asserted that the working man knew that "slavery elevates him," and "his pride,

⁴⁷*Union and American*, Jan. 29, Feb. 5, 1861; *Avalanche*, Jan. 25, Feb. 4, 1861.

⁴⁸*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Jan. 19, 1861.

⁴⁹*Union and American*, Jan. 27, 1861.

⁵⁰Hinton R. Helper was the author of *The Impending Crisis of the South How to Meet It* (New York, 1860). This book apparently circulated in Tennessee although it was hard to get. For example, see R. A. McDonald to T. A. R. Nelson, 1860, Nelson Papers.

interest and duty should cause him to defend the institution, even at the risk of suffering and war, even if there were no principles involved.⁵¹

Two trends of thinking prophetic of future developments in the state became evident during the campaign. Despite the fact that this election had to do with determining the state's action on the basis of the *status quo*, i. e., peace, the discussion brought out the fact that in the event of war between the Federal government and the seceded states it would be extremely difficult, even impossible perhaps, for the people of the state to agree upon a course of action. This condition of affairs had its basis primarily in the clash of fundamental social and economic interests between East Tennessee on the one hand and Middle and West Tennessee on the other.

In general, those in Middle and West Tennessee who were opposed to secession took the position that an attempt on the part of the Federal government to coerce the seceded states would result in war. In that event, Tennessee, when compelled to take sides, would go with the South as a matter of course without pausing to consider whether it was seceding or revolting. In general these Unionists, who stoutly denied that they were "submissionists," insisted that only an overt act of aggression would create a situation which would necessitate Tennessee's withdrawal from the Union. Meanwhile, they contended that Tennessee should lend its best efforts to the task of composing the quarrel distracting the country within the framework of the Constitution, since there was still hope for a peaceful solution of the dispute between the North and the South and since there was no indication that the national government contemplated the adoption of a coercive policy.⁵²

During the course of the campaign the possibility that East Tennessee might attempt to secede from the state in a certain eventuality became evident. The writer of a significant editorial in *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig* entitled "Let East Tennessee Secede" declared that

If by hook, or by crook, in the course of coming events, Tennessee shall madly rush out of the Union, by act of State Convention, let the Delegates elected from East Tennessee, enter their protest, and secede from the rest of the State, and form an independent Mountain State of Frankland, and we shall soon be reinforced by Virginians and Western Caro-

⁵¹*Avalanche*, Jan. 25, 1861.

⁵²*Union and American*, Jan. 26, 1861; *Republican Banner*, Jan. 24, 1861; *Patriot*, Feb. 8, 1861. The Unionists still retained their faith in the protective power of the "constitutional guarantees" upon which they had been relying for the past decade. Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861, a Study in Political Thought* (New York City, 1930), 5.

linians. We can never live in a Southern Confederacy, and be made hewers of wood and drawers of water for a set of aristocrats, and overbearing tyrants. We are candid in urging East Tennessee to withdraw from Middle and West Tennessee, if they shall be so reckless as to consent to go out of the Union. We have no interests in common with those Cotton States. We are a grain-growing and stock-raising people, and we can conduct a cheap Government, and live independent, inhabiting the Switzerland of America. Our brave mountain boys are not willing to be disfranchised, because of their poverty, and it is now a settled point that *property qualifications* will be required under "King Cotton," while a man owning neither land nor Negroes will be disqualified for any honor or profit.⁶³

The people of Tennessee defeated the move to call a state convention by a vote of 69,387 to 57,798.⁶⁴ There was little correlation between the vote in this contest and the votes in the presidential election of the preceding fall and in the subsequent state election on the issue of separation of June 8, 1861. The vote in February, 1861, was 19,696 less than that of November, 1860 and 24,966 less than that of June, 1861.⁶⁵ Whereas Bell had carried the state by a *plurality* of only 4,367 in 1860, the convention lost by a *majority* of 11,389. Furthermore, the combined Democratic⁶⁶ vote in 1860 was 18,341 votes larger than that for "Convention" in February, 1861. The vote for "Separation"⁶⁷ in June, 1861 exceeded that for "Convention" in February by 47,115, but the vote for "No Separation" was 22,149 less than that for "No Convention." While the vote was close⁶⁸ in eleven counties in this election, it was close in thirty-nine counties in the presidential election and

⁶³Jan. 26, 1861.

⁶⁴Copy of official election returns in *Union and American*, March 3, 1861. In so far as the vote on the convention was a test, it appears that the people of Tennessee were somewhat more conservative than those of North Carolina, Arkansas, and Virginia. North Carolina defeated the move to call a convention by less than two hundred votes. Henry M. Wagstaff, *State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, 1776-1861*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, XXIV, Nos. 7-8 (Baltimore, 1906), 135. Both Arkansas and Virginia provided for conventions. David Y. Thomas, *Arkansas in War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874* (Little Rock, 1926), 56; Henry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861* (Richmond, 1934), 153.

⁶⁵*Union and American*, Dec. 2, 1860, March 3, June 25, 1861.

⁶⁶There seems to be no point in distinguishing between the vote for Breckinridge and that for Douglas since Douglas' vote was negligible save in West Tennessee and since there was no material difference in outlook between their followers except for some of Breckinridge's supporters in East Tennessee. The counties in which Douglas polled his largest votes favored both "Convention" and "Separation." However, only two of the counties in East Tennessee which had voted for Breckinridge supported the convention and just five of them were for separation.

⁶⁷"Separation" meant withdrawing from the Union. There is no discussion of the companion vote on "Representation," i.e., in the Confederacy, as that vote did not differ materially from the one on "Separation."

⁶⁸The term "close" indicates that the majority vote was less than 60 per cent of the total vote.

in only eight counties in the election of June, 1861.⁶⁰

East Tennessee, the only section in which Bell had won a majority in 1860, defeated the convention by a majority of 25,532 out of a total vote of 41,066. In view of the fact that the vote against the convention exceeded Bell's vote by thirty-four per cent it is apparent that not all of the Unionists had supported Bell. Furthermore, since the vote for the convention amounted to only forty-one per cent of the vote for Breckinridge in 1860, it is obvious that the supporters of Breckinridge in this area were generally not secessionists even on the assumption that a vote for the convention necessarily indicated sentiment for secession. Only two counties, Sullivan and Meigs, strongly Democratic in tradition, favored the convention. Therefore, not only all of the counties which had voted for Bell but also all but two that had voted for Breckinridge indicated their strong Union sentiment. The vote in June, 1861 for separation was almost twice as large as that in February for the convention. The vote against separation was slightly less than that against the convention. Apparently, the Unionists mustered their greatest strength in the election of February even in East Tennessee.⁶¹

Middle Tennessee, which Breckinridge had carried by a small majority, failed to support the move to call a convention. Out of a total vote of 55,066 it gave a majority of 1,382 votes against it. The vote against the convention was 521 votes less than Bell's vote. Since the vote for the convention was twenty-nine per cent less than the vote for Breckinridge, it is obvious that by no means all of those who had voted for Breckinridge were secessionists. All but two of the counties which had supported Bell (Montgomery and Robertson) opposed the convention. However, six of the counties which had voted for Breckinridge (Hardin, Coffee, Cannon, Van Buren, DeKalb, and Overton) also opposed it. The vote for separation in the June election was more than twice that for the convention in February, while the vote against separation was seventy-one per cent less than that against the convention.⁶²

West Tennessee, in which Bell had secured only a plurality and in which Douglas had polled a relatively large vote, favored the convention by a majority of 14,759 out of a total vote of 30,487. The vote for the convention was fourteen per cent more than the combined Democratic vote in 1860. The vote against the convention amounted to only forty-three per cent of Bell's vote. Sentiment for secession, therefore, was strong in all parties. Only four

⁶⁰The Douglas vote was of course a factor in this situation. *Union and American*, Dec. 2, 1860, March 3, June 25, 1861.

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²*Ibid.*

counties opposed the convention. All of these, Carroll, Decatur, Henderson, and McNairy, had supported Bell. In June the vote for separation was 6,504 votes larger than that for the convention and the vote against separation was 1,747 votes greater than that against the convention.⁶³

A very decided majority of the delegates whom the people elected to the defeated convention were Unionists. The total vote for the Union delegates was 91,803 and that for the disunion delegates was 24,749. According to these figures, less than one fifth of those participating in this election were secessionists.⁶⁴ One author declared that less than one half of those who favored the convention were secessionists.⁶⁵ This is probably true as some Unionists had actively supported the convention.⁶⁶

A careful analysis of the vote on the convention reveals certain pertinent facts. It indicated "that the people of Tennessee, seeing the action of the other State Conventions, were distrustful of any hundred men, and unwilling to trust their destinies in the hands of a convention at a time when madness and passion ruled in other States."⁶⁷ The breaking down of party lines was virtually complete. Correlation between the vote in this election and those in the presidential election of 1860 and the special state election of June, 1861 was slight. The people of West Tennessee definitely favored the convention, but those in East Tennessee definitely opposed it. However, the people of Middle Tennessee were almost evenly divided on the issue. Interest in the election was much greater in East Tennessee than it was in either of the other two sections.

Neither the conservatives, who favored remaining in the Union and attempting to win back the states of the Lower South, nor the radicals, who were desirous of withdrawing from the Union and joining them, considered the matter of Tennessee's position finally settled by the election of February 9, 1861.⁶⁸ A realistic conception

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴East Tennessee cast 30,903 votes for Union candidates and 5,577 votes for disunion candidates; Middle Tennessee, 36,809 votes for Union candidates and 9,828 for disunion candidates; West Tennessee, 24,091 votes for Union candidates and 9,344 for disunion candidates. *American Annual Encyclopedia . . .*, 1861 (New York, 1869), 677.

⁶⁵Clifton R. Hall, *Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee* (Princeton, 1916), 5.

⁶⁶*Supra*, 22.

⁶⁷*Republican Banner*, Feb. 13, 1861.

⁶⁸John R. Neal and Oliver P. Temple accept this point of view. Neal, *op. cit.*, 7 and Temple, *op. cit.*, 179-80. Fertig, however, takes the position that the Unionists thought that they had killed the secession movement. Fertig, *op. cit.*, 20. Neither Thomas W. Humes nor Hall expressed a definite opinion on this point. Humes, *The Loyal Mountaineers of East Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1888), 91-100; Hall, *op. cit.*, 5. The contention in the Declaration of Grievances and Resolutions of the Knoxville Convention was that the election of February 9 had determined Tennessee's position. *Proceedings of the East Tennessee Convention Held at Knoxville May 30th and the 31st, 1861*, pp. 1-13.

of the condition of national affairs prevented any real feeling of assurance on that score by anyone. In the opinion of the Unionists, the fact that this election had not ultimately determined Tennessee's relation to the Union did not preclude but rather increased the possibility of the state's acting effectively to bring about a just and permanent settlement of "present difficulties," a settlement which would "secure the constitutional rights of all sections, and should reunite the people of all States in the bonds of fraternity" under a common government.⁶⁸

Popular reaction to the election as reflected in the press varied in accordance with the positions assumed during the campaign. The *Maury Press*, a journal of moderate views, rejoiced that the party favoring immediate secession had met defeat, and exulted that From Carter to Shelby the voice of Tennessee has gone thundering up to heaven that she will not be dragooned into any action fatal to her interests, and that she will stand by the Union until all constitutional redress measures prove unavailing and until the people of the Northern states have had ample time to guarantee to her the rights of late years denied.⁶⁹ The *Patriot*, which maintained a relatively dispassionate view of the situation, observed that the election had shown the immediate secessionists to be in "a minority entirely hopeless," and urged them to desist from their efforts and unite with "the great body of the people . . . in an earnest effort to uphold the Fed. Con. and preserve the Union."⁷⁰ *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, an organ of extreme Union sentiments, was elated because

There never was a party so disgracefully beaten in any State in the Union, since the formation of the Government as this Disunion party is beaten in Tennessee!—Glorious old Tennessee, has said at the ballot box, that her interests are in the Union, and that UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES her people shall live. Tennessee has said in thunder tones, that she will not act with Yancey, Rhett, and Davis and that she will not render herself infamous by giving countenance to treason!

A few days later the same paper called attention to the fact that The Union Party, made of Whigs and Democrats, of Bell, Douglas, Breckinridge men, should maintain their present position, at least until further developments are made, and be prepared to whip out the Secessionists on every occasion, and under whatever colors they may sail. We must remember that we have not killed the snake—we have only "scotched" him. He will appear in some other form and give us trouble.⁷¹

While the *Avalanche*, which for some time had entertained radical opinions on Southern rights, was in no mood to take a calm, dispassionate view of the election, it declared editorially that the defeat was merely an incentive to the secessionists to keep fighting for vic-

⁶⁸*Patriot*, Feb. 12, 1861.

⁶⁹Feb. 14, 1861.

⁷⁰Feb. 12, 1861.

⁷¹Feb. 16, 23, 1861.

tory. Therefore, it urged those who favored secession not to relax their efforts, but to work silently and speedily for the victory that must come. Remember, it said, "Faith is everything," and "work."⁷²

The secessionists took the position that the result of the election had placed Tennessee in an unenviable and equivocal position. "Doctrines of Helper," they asserted, "have been taught in Tennessee; the poor have been appealed to against the rich—the non-slaveholder against the slave-holder; and the fight for abolitionizing will go in Tennessee as certainly as in Northern States." In their opinion the speeches and conduct of John Bell, Emerson Etheridge, the outstanding Unionist from West Tennessee and a member of Tennessee's congressional delegation, N. G. Taylor, a prominent Unionist of East Tennessee, and other "union-savers" had also contributed to the creation of Lincoln's belief that by arraying the Unionists and disunionists of the border states against each other he could add the border states to the North in effect and force them to abolish slavery in the territories, "help subjugate the South and reduce the States to provinces."⁷³

On the other hand, the unconditional Unionists insisted that while Union men were trying to bring about "an amicable adjustment of our national difficulties," Governor Harris and his "disunion associates," who refused to remain in retirement despite their recent decisive defeat, were "throwing obstacles in the way." In the opinion of these Unionists,

This has been the mistake of the Southern fire-eaters all the time—supposing they could frighten the Northern States into terms. The Northern States are peopled with American citizens; descendants of a brave ancestry like those of our own sunny South—not to be scared into measures, but willing, we believe, to grant what is just and fair and right, when sought in a manner becoming to an enlightened people.⁷⁴

Many who were neither secessionists *per se* nor unconditional Unionists were genuinely apprehensive lest the North draw the wrong inference from the result of the February election. Their feeling was that,

If the Republican party see or fancy they see in this election an evidence of fear, and so assume upon it the bearing of a conqueror more than that of a friend, then indeed *God help Tennessee, and God help the South*; but if they receive it as an assurance that the old brotherly love beats strong in the South, and would flow back if it were not checked by the pride that leads to the dread of being mistaken for a suppliant, in lieu of being recognized as a *forgiving friend*, willing to forget the past and make provision for the prevention of any future misunderstanding; if they re-

⁷²Feb. 11, 1861.

⁷³*Argus* (Memphis), Feb. 11, 15, 1861.

⁷⁴*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Feb. 23, 1861.

ceive the news in this spirit, we say, why then all will yet be well.⁷⁵

They were fearful that "the failure to call the convention taken in connection with Andy Johnson's speeches" might "strengthen the backbone of the Republicans and increase the difficulties of settlement." The fact that the secessionists "trumpeted" the refusal to hold a convention as "Unconditional submission," they said, also contributed to the same end.⁷⁶

In summarizing, it may be concluded that following the election of 1860 the people of Tennessee were willing to acquiesce in Lincoln's victory, as his election had been constitutional in form. They were of the opinion that there was no legitimate reason for dissolving the Union until some overt act of aggression occurred. A preponderant majority favored the policy of watchful waiting, which they hoped and believed would enable the state ultimately to assume a position of leadership and to act effectively in any attempt to compose the differences between the North and the South in the Union. Since the people of the state understood that Governor Harris did not consider Lincoln's election a justifiable cause for secession, since they wished the state to be in position to assist in compromising the dispute between the North and the South, and since they were eager for the enactment of measures to relieve the distressing economic conditions prevailing in the state, they urged the governor to convene the General Assembly in extra session. Meanwhile, as time passed, the secession movement, which had had very few adherents in Tennessee, began to gain a little headway. The General Assembly provided for a state election on the question of holding a convention to consider Tennessee's position in the national crisis. Despite the fact that any action of the proposed convention designed to alter Tennessee's relationship to the Union was to be submitted to popular vote, the people of the state, irrespective of party affiliation, voted down the proposal to hold a convention and very decisively defeated the secessionist candidates. They were still hopeful of preserving the Union and they were fearful that the extremists might somehow gain control of a convention and carry the state out of the Union. The Unionists, conditional and unconditional alike, were elated over their victory and the secessionists were downcast because of their defeat. Generally speaking, however, neither group believed that this election had finally determined what would be Tennessee's position in the great sectional struggle, as they both knew that the people had made their decision on the basis of the *status quo*, i. e., peace.

⁷⁵*Argus*, Feb. 11, 1861.

⁷⁶*Chronicle*, Feb. 15, 1861.

MEMPHIS UNDER MILITARY RULE, 1862 TO 1865

By JOSEPH H. PARKS

The Confederate defeat at Shiloh on April 7, 1862, left West Tennessee open to invasion by Federal forces. The principal city of that section was Memphis, an important railway center on the bluffs of the Mississippi. This proud little city with a peacetime population of slightly less than 23,000 had contributed seventy-two companies to the Confederate armies.¹ Few able-bodied sons of the South could be found on the streets. The principal Confederate force which had been stationed within the city was withdrawn following the evacuation of Corinth late in May, 1862. The small force under General Jeff Thompson which remained within the city was in no way adequate for defense.

On the night of June 5 the Federal fleet lay at anchor just north of Memphis. By five thirty the following morning it was engaged in a death struggle with Confederate gunboats which had been drawn up in defense of the city. An hour and a half later the entire Confederate fleet with the exception of the *Van Dorn* had been destroyed. This vessel "by her superior speed" was able to escape from Ellet's rams.² An estimated crowd of 5,000 Memphians stood on the bluff and witnessed the destruction of their last line of defense. Among those spectators was Jeff Thompson.* Before the smoke of the river battle cleared away, he had withdrawn from the city which he had declared he could defend for a month.

When informed that a white flag was waving on the bluff, Colonel Charles Ellet sent his son ashore under a flag of truce. He carried with him two United States flags and a note to Mayor John Park. The Mayor was informed that, since the city had surrendered, the bearer of the note was instructed to raise United States flags over both the custom-house and the courthouse. Park had not been informed of the surrender, but replied that his government had "no forces to oppose the raising of the flags." Having received this reply, young Ellet and his party proceeded to raise the flag over the postoffice. Except for the firing of a single shot and

¹Memphis *Argus*, June 2, 1862 (cited hereafter as *Argus*).

²*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 130 vols. (Washington, 1888-1901), Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. I, 907-09, 925-27 (cited hereafter as O. R.).

³*Ibid.*, 906.

the hurling of a few stones, the Memphis populace offered no resistance.⁴

C. H. Davis, flag officer commanding, sent an officer and three men to the office of Mayor Park and demanded that the city be immediately surrendered. The Mayor, exercising his only choice, replied: "I have to say, that the civil authorities have no means of defense; by the force of circumstances it is in your hands." Colonel G. N. Fitch took military possession of the city and requested the Mayor and the members of the council to call at military headquarters. At this conference between military and civil officials "it was agreed that the municipal functions should continue, and the military to be used whenever and wherever necessary to aid the enforcement of the proper ordinances for the preservation of peace and protection of life and property and the maintenance of the supremacy of the laws and Constitution of the United States."⁵

When Memphis surrendered on June 6, 1862, no stores of supplies of any importance fell into Federal hands. The cotton, molasses, and sugar which had recently been stored on the bluff had been burned or poured into the river, and even business houses had been relieved of their contents by the retiring Confederate forces. Many residents, fearing the consequence of Federal occupation, had fled from their homes, and business was at a standstill. On the day following surrender, Fitch requested all Memphians to return to their homes and urged business men to reopen their stores. They were assured that the city would continue under its civil government with the cooperation of the military authorities. The latter would not intervene "unless some exigency arises rendering it imperative to place the city under martial law."⁶

A considerable number of Memphis residents welcomed the coming of the Federals. Hard times during the first half of 1862 had caused discontent among the merchants and laboring classes. Most of the former remained loyal to the Confederacy, but the latter, which included a number of foreigners, put relief from hunger before loyalty to any cause. One observant Union reporter who later became editor of a controlled newspaper within the city, found "evidence that the laboring class, the men with blue shirts and shabby hats were not disloyal [to the Union]. . . . It was generally the wealthy who adhered to the Rebel cause."⁷ This same reporter also noted that several Memphis politicians were anxious "to swear

⁴*Ibid.*, 909-10.

⁵Memphis *Daily Appeal*, June 9, 1862 (cited hereafter as *Daily Appeal*); O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. I, 910-11.

⁶O. R., Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. I, 912.

⁷Thomas W. Knox, *Campfire and Cottonfield* (New York, 1865), 182.

allegiance to the victorious side . . . because they considered the Rebel cause a losing one." According to their own stories, these men had suffered much at the hand of the Confederates, and what they had done to assist the Southern cause had been under compulsion.⁸

A good example of such a politician was Ben Nabers. Before the fall of the city he had been considered loyal to the Confederacy and had made an unsuccessful race for a seat in the Confederate Congress. But as soon as Memphis surrendered, Nabers, standing by the side of the Andrew Jackson monument in Court Square, proceeded to deliver to a "mongrel crowd" a "stiff Union speech" in which he boldly denounced the Confederacy and its leaders.⁹ This shifty politician was later rewarded when he was allowed to serve as one of the editors of the *Memphis Bulletin* and was made a member of the Memphis Board of Trade.

Men of Naber's type did not represent the true sentiment of the better class residents of the conquered city. Their attitude was more accurately expressed by the *Memphis Daily Appeal*, speaking from Grenada, Mississippi, whence it had fled with the fall of Memphis: The "city is conquered, but her people are not crushed, or converted to Lincolnism. . . . [They] remain true to their pledge, even under great adversity."¹⁰ This condition was verified by a correspondent of the *Cairo Gazette*. He observed that although the turbulent disposition shown in New Orleans was not in evidence in Memphis, all efforts at conciliation had not produced the "*slightest manifestation of Union feeling*." Stores remained closed and with the exception of a few "blacklegs and *nymphs du pave* (who are reaping a rich harvest and of whom there are thousands)" business was at a standstill.¹¹

Realizing the importance of a loyal press, the military commander in Memphis ordered the editors of all newspapers either to take an oath of allegiance to the Union or suspend publication. This order came too late to affect the *Daily Appeal*. When the editors of this paper foresaw that Federal occupation of the city was merely a matter of hours, they packed their equipment in a box car, and as Union troops moved into the city, the *Daily Appeal* moved out and headed for Grenada, Mississippi. From that point and others to which they were later forced to flee, the editors continued such a vitriolic attack upon the Union that the *Daily Appeal* became known as the "Bible

⁸*Ibid.*, 184.

⁹John Hallum, *Diary of an Old Lawyer* (Nashville, 1895), 245.

¹⁰*Daily Appeal*, June 16, 1862.

¹¹*Cairo (Ill.) Gazette*, quoted in *Daily Appeal*, June 16, 1862.

of the Confederacy."¹² From its place in exile, it became a kind of clearing house for communications between Memphis and the Confederacy. The *Daily Appeal* building and what remained of its property in Memphis were taken over by the military authorities and J. K. Davisson of the Twenty-fourth Indiana Volunteers began the publication of the *Union Appeal*.¹³

The editors of the *Avalanche* and the *Argus* took the oath and continued publication, but their leanings toward the Confederacy could not be concealed. Military authorities soon took over the *Avalanche*, placed it under new management, and changed the title to the *Memphis Bulletin*. This action followed the publication of an article which argued that belligerents should respect the rights and property of private individuals. Provost Marshal W. S. Hillyer denounced this article as "exceedingly objectionable" and warned that criticisms by the local press would not be tolerated. All soldiers were responsible to their superiors and "not to the press or people of Memphis." The military authorities did not propose to have their "movements guided by the opinions of men, to say the least, of *inexperienced* loyalty."¹⁴ A few days later Hillyer ordered the suspension of the *Avalanche* as "incendiary and treasonable." But General U. S. Grant allowed it to continue publication on the condition that the person responsible for the objectionable article would withdraw from the staff. Jephtha Fowlkes assumed the responsibility and withdrew.¹⁵

The *Argus* was a little more cautious and was allowed to go undisturbed until General Lew Wallace took command in the city. He notified the editors that they might continue as the business managers, but the editorial department would be taken over by A. D. Richardson and Thomas W. Knox. With the public announcement that they would no longer be responsible for the editorial policy of the paper, the editors retired behind the scene. One of the new editorial writers later remarked: "It is possible we did not make any conversions among the disloyal readers of the *Argus*, but we had the satisfaction of saying what we thought it necessary they should hear."¹⁶

Occupied Memphis quickly took on an appearance of wretchedness, filth, and crime. Many of the better class of people had

¹²Robert Talley (ed.), *One Hundred Years of the Commercial Appeal* (Memphis, 1940), 19 ff.

¹³*Daily Appeal*, June 30, 1862; *Memphis Union Appeal*, July 3, 1862 (cited hereafter as *Union Appeal*).

¹⁴*Daily Appeal*, July 30, 1862.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, July 4, 1862.

¹⁶Knox, *Campfire and Cottonfield*, 191.

left the city, and the majority of those who remained sought to shut themselves off from the business life of the city as much as possible. Hundreds of northern traders descended upon the city as soon as it was occupied by Federal troops. These newcomers were to play a prominent part in the business life of Memphis since many old merchants and traders refused to take the oath of allegiance and therefore were not allowed to reopen their places of business. Camp followers of all descriptions flooded the city and joined with vagrants and criminals already there. Within one week after occupation the provost marshal felt forced to bar lewd women from the streets after sunset and forbid them to talk with soldiers on duty.¹⁷

When General Grant took command at Memphis late in June, he found "great disloyalty manifested by citizens of this place." The city was filled with spies, and even soldiers of the Confederate armies were coming and going much as they pleased. He feared that Confederate sympathizers might even attempt to burn the city rather than see it continue in Union hands.¹⁸

Although there were no large Confederate forces threatening Memphis, the surrounding country was filled with bands of guerrillas. Large amounts of the supplies shipped into the city found smugglers waiting to transfer them to guerrillas and regular Confederate forces.¹⁹ In order to break up the cooperation between city and hinterland, Grant ordered that the families of all persons holding office under city, county, state, or Confederate governments or serving in the Confederate army must either quit the city or take an oath that they had given no aid to the Confederacy since June 6 and that in the future they would offer no opposition to the Union occupation of Memphis. He also ordered that any building over which a Confederate flag was found flying was to be taken over and converted to hospital use.²⁰

General Jeff Thompson at Senatobia, Mississippi, issued a vigorous protest against turning "helpless women and children" out of their homes. If this order should be strictly enforced, he declared, it would affect nine tenths of the people of the city. There were but few respectable families that did not have a representative in the Confederate service. Should Grant insist on enforcing the order, Thompson asked that some special place be designated to

¹⁷*Union Appeal*, June 17, 1862.

¹⁸Grant to H. W. Halleck, June 24, 1862; *id.* to *id.*, June 27, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 29-30, 41-42.

¹⁹The subject of Memphis trade has been treated by the writer in a separate study, "A Confederate Trade Center under Federal Occupation: Memphis, 1862 to 1865," in *Journal of Southern History*, VII (August, 1941), 289-314.

²⁰*Union Appeal*, July 12, 15, 1862.

which these people were to be sent so that they might be met there by their relatives. He feared that many sick and aged would not be able to leave the city and would be "forced to take the hateful oath of allegiance."

General A. P. Hovey, who by this time was in command at Memphis, informed Thompson that Grant's recent orders were mild when one took into consideration the treatment given Union families while Confederates controlled the city. He thought that the greatest error which had been committed by the Federal officers had been their "overkindness to a vindictive and insulting foe." He added that such families as proved to be obstinate and refused to comply with the order would be escorted to any point they should request at a distance of not less than ten miles from the city.²¹

On July 17, 1862, Hovey further increased the pressure on Confederate sympathizers. All males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who were capable of bearing arms were ordered either to take the oath of allegiance or to leave the city. Those found guilty of using seditious language against the United States were to be banished to Arkansas. Those who refused either to take the oath or to quit the city would be considered as spies.²² On this same day the controlled press commented that life within Memphis was quiet and property "in possession of true citizens" was safe. But it warned that many whose past records were as open books would do well to adopt a modest and retiring behavior.²³ In other words men of unquestioned loyalty were to be safe in possession of their property, but all others stood in danger of losing theirs. The propertied class was for the most part disloyal.

The Memphis Typographical Union, declaring neutrality, petitioned Hovey for exemption from his orders. The petition pointed out that the members of the union were working men rather than politicians, and desired to have no part in the conflict. They considered it their task "to disseminate knowledge, and not to create ill-will." The petition was denied by Hovey. "You are for us or against us," he replied, "and a manly course is to choose your side."²⁴

On July 19 the *Bulletin* commented that many families were leaving town on account of Grant's recent order. The editors thought this exodus was all right, however, since those leaving were "not willing even to give a promise that they will cease to act as

²¹O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 98-99.

²²*Union Appeal*, July 18, 1862; *Memphis Bulletin*, July 18, 1862 (cited hereafter as *Bulletin*).

²³*Union Appeal*, July 17, 1862.

²⁴Quoted in *ibid.*, July 20, 1862.

traitors." Three days later it was reported that probably 450 men had taken the oath under Hovey's order and about 130 had left the city. The *Union Appeal* commented that most of those who had taken the oath were "men of respectable standing, wealth, and influence." Those who had left the city were mostly boys and young men without "standing or respectability."²⁵ But in scanning the list of the first five hundred persons to take the oath, the editors of the *Daily Appeal* could find but few who were prominent in "social, political or mercantile walks of the city." The majority were declared to be strangers and most of the others were from the "scum of the city."²⁶

July 24 was the last day for taking the oath. On this date the *Bulletin* remarked that "secession sympathizers . . . better be arranging their affairs preparatory to a skedaddle." If they were so fond of the Confederacy then they should be in the army instead of annoying the quiet of Memphis. Most Memphians, it observed, preferred to remain neutral, but when forced to make a choice they took the Union rather than the "sinking ship of rebellion."²⁷

General W. T. Sherman assumed command in Memphis three days prior to the expiration of the period for taking the oath. He wrote to Grant on July 25 that he was very much embarrassed by Hovey's order. He doubted the propriety of allowing large numbers of Confederate sympathizers to go south "untrammelled by even a parole." They were of conscript age and would be immediately taken into the Confederate armies. These men should have first been forced to take a parole as a measure of safety against Confederate conscription. He advocated, however, that all hostile persons be expelled from the city. As long as enemies remained within the lines correspondence would be carried on and military information transferred. "But if all who are not our friends are expelled from Memphis but few will be left."²⁸

The number of persons who left the city rather than take the oath cannot be accurately determined,²⁹ but many who remained did not take it. One afternoon a stranger appeared at the office of attorney John Hallum and stated that he was a "Moses" capable of leading the attorney "out of the wilderness" of his troubles. Hallum had joined the Confederate army and later had been discharged on

²⁵*Bulletin*, July 19, 22, 1862; *Daily Appeal*, July 22, 1862.

²⁶*Daily Appeal*, June 26, 1862.

²⁷*Bulletin*, July 24, 1862.

²⁸Sherman to Grant, July 25, 1862, in O. R. , Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 121-23.

²⁹J. M. Keating, in his *History of Memphis*, 2 vols. (Syracuse, 1886), I, 517, places the number at 1300. According to the figures given by the *Bulletin*, July 23, 25, 1862, the number did not exceed 450.

account of illness. He, along with many others, had applied for a pass to leave the city rather than take the oath. For a consideration of \$500, "Moses" offered to secure a certificate of allegiance for Hallum without the necessity of an oath. The trade was made. According to Hallum's explanation, he figured that he could be of more service by buying an oath of allegiance and remaining in Memphis than by going south. Oaths were secured for many others at prices ranging from \$10 to \$500. Through "Moses," Hallum gained entrance to the secrecy of corrupt military administration. From his office on the south side of Court Square, he became an intermediary between citizens and corrupt officers.³⁰

In accordance with instructions sent out by Grant, military authorities took over all houses which had been vacated and also those which had been "leased out by disloyal owners." These buildings were to be rented at reasonable rates and the money collected held in trust for the owners in case they later gave proof of their loyalty. This action was taken "under the rules and laws of war, and not under the confiscation act of Congress." In explaining Grant's order, Sherman stated that the question of title to the property was not involved. The order simply meant that "the possession, and the rents and profits of houses belonging to our enemies which are not vacant we hold in trust for them or the Government, according to the future decisions of the proper tribunals."³¹

While the military authorities were devoting a majority of their time to efforts to rid Memphis of its disloyal population, internal conditions of the city grew steadily worse. The press almost daily reported wholesale disorder, thieving, and drunkenness. Liquor was sold on all sides and intoxicated soldiers were forcing their presence upon people in their homes and filling their pockets with whatever they could find. No longer was it safe for ladies to appear on the streets or even stay at home unless protected. Such conduct on the part of loyal people, exclaimed the *Bulletin*, could not be justified by the argument that those being mistreated were secessionists and had brought this upon themselves. It was common knowledge that Memphis had been sullen and bitter in submission, but the press had learned of no wells being poisoned or poisoned cigars and pineapples being distributed among soldiers. Even secessionists did not deserve to "suffer in life, liberty, or property except by the forms of law, martial law, if need be, but still law."³²

³⁰Hallum, *Diary*, 281-87.

³¹Sherman to Captain Fitch, August 7, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 156-57; *Daily Appeal*, August 12, 1862; *Bulletin*, August 12, 1862.

³²*Bulletin*, July 25, 1862.

Sherman took serious notice of the situation in a letter to Mayor Park on July 27. He expressed "unbounded respect for the civil law, courts, and authorities" and reminded the Mayor that even though the military must be superior to the civil authorities, this need not destroy civil government. He desired to see at least one civil court restored in order that cases involving contracts and ordinary crimes might be tried. The municipal police were expected to make all arrests of civilians for common disorder or crimes, leaving to the provost guard the arrest of state offenders and disorderly soldiers. Since the existing municipal police had been found too weak and inefficient to cope with the situation, it was thought advisable that the number be increased. Should such an increase call for more revenue than the existing taxes would provide, Sherman suggested the levying of new taxes. Any new tax, however, "should be made uniform on all interests, real estate and personal property, including money and merchandise."⁸³

The city government took immediate action on these suggestions, which, the *Daily Appeal* sarcastically remarked, permitted the aldermen to "legislate for the city." The police force was increased from thirty-two to one hundred, and additional monthly taxes were levied ranging from five dollars in the case of merchant licenses, to twenty-five dollars for liquor saloons, and to fifty dollars for houses of ill fame.⁸⁴ It is noticeable, however, that no additional levies were made on real estate or personal property. The original residents of the city, speaking through the city government which they had elected, sought to saddle the tax burden upon the shoulders of the newly-arrived merchants and traders.

Concurrent with the increase in the police force, there came an increase in the task which confronted it. Saloons which had been closed by order of Grant were now reopened in the hope of giving relief to the city treasury. The effects were immediately noticeable. The press reported that never before had there been so many drunks "staggering, roaring, and lying about the streets." The demand for a new jail became urgent. The old one had been burned when the Confederates retired from the city and since that time prisoners had been housed in the police station. There was not sufficient time to construct an adequate jail, so the jail committee rented General Forrest's old Negro mart on Adams Street between Second and Third for the sum of twenty dollars per month.⁸⁵ During

⁸³Sherman to Park, July 27, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 127.

⁸⁴*Daily Appeal*, August 2, 1862; *Union Appeal*, July 30, 1862; *Bulletin*, August 12, 1862.

⁸⁵*Bulletin*, August 13, 1862; *Union Appeal*, August 30, 1862.

the month of August the municipal police made 320 arrests and collected fines to the amount of \$1,563.35, but this was a small beginning in a drive to clean up Memphis.³⁶

The problems of the city administration were further increased by the daily arrival of large numbers of Negroes. Most of them had run away from neighboring plantations and were seeking the protection of the Union army. None possessed the means of self support and there were few jobs. It was either steal or starve. Sherman sought to solve the Negro problem by employing them on public works and fortifications. He directed that no money should be paid to Negroes for their labor but that each should be supplied with food, clothing, and one pound of chewing tobacco each month. All overseers were to keep accurate accounts of the names and descriptions of their Negroes as well as the amount of work done by each. In the case of runaway slaves, the master should receive "a fair and equitable settlement" at the end of the war.³⁷

On August 8, 1862, Sherman issued a supplementary explanation of his recent order relative to Negroes. He had no desire to interfere in the relations between masters and slaves, and assured loyal masters that they could expect to recover their slaves eventually and receive the money they had earned. But those masters who were "in open hostility to the Constitution of their country will lose their slaves, the title to which only exists by force of that very Constitution they seek to destroy." There was to be no inducing of slaves to leave their masters, and any who had run away would be at liberty to return. But no use of "force or undue persuasion" was to be permitted in an attempt to recover fugitive slaves.³⁸ Sherman confided to Grant that the people of Memphis were "much more resigned and less presumptuous than at first. Your orders about property and mine about 'niggers' made them feel that they can be hurt, and they are about as sensitive about their property as Yankees. I believe in universal confiscation and colonization."³⁹

Although Sherman spoke with determination, his administration of affairs in Memphis was never as harsh as the attitude of the populace probably justified. He was even lenient in his trade policy, allowing a great amount of intercourse between the city and the surrounding country. This leniency was prompted by the hope that there were enough loyal people in Memphis and vicinity to form a large nucleus about which Union sentiment could be developed.

³⁶*Daily Appeal*, September 5, 1862.

³⁷O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 113.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 158-59.

³⁹Sherman to Grant, August 17, 1862, in *ibid.*, 178-79.

Sherman had more confidence, however, in the farmers than in the city residents. Cotton farmers had suffered much destruction at the hands of guerrilla bands. Sherman believed most of them to be so indignant over their losses as to welcome the protection of the Union. For this reason he thought it good policy to encourage them to bring in their cotton and corn and carry home the supplies necessary for the comfort of their families. He was conscious of the fact that guerrillas and organized Confederate forces would get some of these supplies, but he believed the gain in Union sentiment would more than compensate for the loss of a few supplies. "I am satisfied," he remarked, "a change of opinion is rapidly growing here, which I endeavor to foster and encourage."⁴⁰

Even before Sherman assumed command in Memphis a Union mass meeting had been held for the purpose of procuring soldiers for the new Second Tennessee regiment which had recently been authorized by Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee. Many ladies were said to have been present and heard Ben Nabers and others speak. Following the meeting, A. Clark Denson, a local loyalist, opened a recruiting station at the Irving Block, the military prison on Court Square. Efforts to solicit recruits through the posting of handbills came to naught since angry Confederate sympathizers tore them down faster than they could be replaced. An attempt to pass out the notices to all who could read met with a similar response. Brickbats, billets, and knives were freely used by many "who were disposed to fight for Jeff and his oligarchy." But in spite of these difficulties enough recruits were secured for the Second Tennessee to stage a parade from Court Square down Main Street to the office of the *Bulletin*. Captain Denson and Colonel Hillyer addressed the regiment in a very complimentary manner. Hillyer was glad to be on duty in Memphis. He had felt the "pulse of the city, and was assured her heart of hearts was loyal." He wished to restore the city to loyalty through the use of reason, but would not hesitate to use drastic measures where necessary. He understood that was the method used by the Confederate leaders to make the city disloyal.⁴¹

The Union press was untiring in its efforts to encourage loyal sentiment. A second mass meeting was scheduled for August 15. All true Unionists were urged to assemble around the statue of Andrew Jackson in Court Square. The attention of all loyal men was called to the words of Jackson inscribed on the statue: "The Federal Union Must and Shall Be Preserved." But in spite of all the efforts

⁴⁰Sherman to Grant, November 8, 1862, in *ibid.*, 860-62.

⁴¹*Bulletin*, July 19, 20, 1862.

of Union sympathizers, commented the Confederate press, there had been no change in public sentiment. Silence on the part of the friends of the South was a matter of necessity, but they had lost none of their hope or devotion to the cause.⁴²

Some original Union men who had fared badly at the hands of the Confederates proposed that every person in Memphis be required to take an oath of allegiance or leave the city. Chief among them was the Reverend R. C. Grundy who had been ejected from his pulpit in the Second Presbyterian Church on account of his Union sentiments. In retaliation Grant had ordered the church closed and notified the officials that services could be resumed only after the Reverend Mr. Grundy had been restored to his pulpit. When services were resumed late in July a Confederate sympathizer remarked that no respectable people attended. Looking over the audience he found "five forlorn, cadaverous looking females" who were "evidently of the lower classes."⁴³

After almost six months in his restored pulpit, Grundy gave up the battle and left for the North. In his farewell message he declared that "comparing the spirit and conduct of the Elders and Deacons of this church with the true and scriptural standard . . . they have forfeited all claim, as such, to my respect and confidence." He did not hate these officials who had so abused him, but he held them in "lofty contempt." Late in January, 1863, Grundy accepted the pulpit of the Central Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati.⁴⁴

Apparently sometime in October, 1862, a Union club was secretly organized in Memphis. The reason for its secrecy is not quite clear, but there is evidence that some of the members feared for their safety should the city be retaken by the Confederate forces. The existence of such a club was known to Sherman. Writing to Grant on November 8 he remarked that a Union club was scheduled to "come out in public" on the following Monday. Houses were to be decorated and there was to be a huge public procession. "I will attend, of course, and aid them with every means to produce effect. The advance of your army to La Grange [Tennessee] will have an admirable effect." But Sherman confided to General Hovey that there was little hope for much reaction in favor of the Union cause "until the safety of property changes their feelings, their political opinions, and Southern prejudices."⁴⁵

The Union demonstration under the auspices of the Union

⁴²*Union Appeal*, August 15, 1862; *Daily Appeal*, July 29, 1862.

⁴³*Daily Appeal*, July 25, September 9, 1862; *Union Appeal*, July 24, 1862.

⁴⁴*Bulletin*, December 14, 1862, February 1, 1863.

⁴⁵Sherman to Grant, November 8, 1862; *id.* to A. P. Hovey, October 29, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 860-62, 856.

Club and the German Union Club was held on November 10, 1862. Assembling in gay dress on Court Square, the procession marched up Second Street to Jefferson and thence along the other principal streets. Club members wore badges and the Germans carried a German revolutionary flag. The main attraction was a float bearing the Goddess of Liberty with thirty-four attendants representing the states. When the parade reached the New Memphis Theatre the crowd was addressed by General Sherman and a Colonel Stuart from Illinois. The latter chilled the enthusiasm when he declared that the time for talk had passed. If the so-called Union clubs desired to help save the Union, their members should join Sherman's army, march to New Orleans and celebrate January 8 at the scene of Jackson's victory.⁴⁶

The *Bulletin* pronounced the demonstration a great success and estimated the number of participants at 3,000. But a reporter of the *Daily Appeal* declared that exactly 702 took part and twenty-seven among them were respectable persons. The whole affair from beginning to end was denounced as "the most diabolical scene that treason, treachery, madness, and money could trump up in this Yankee-polluted city."⁴⁷

The municipal government showed no enthusiasm over the development of loyal sentiment. There is evidence of resentment against those newcomers who owned no property and paid little or no taxes, yet were aspiring to leadership within the city. On September 2, 1862, Mayor Park recommended to the council that steps be taken to collect the state and county taxes. He thought the money collected might be held in trust for the state and county until those units were again in position to function. Many persons doing business within the city, he reasoned, were mere adventurers "here to-day and gone to-morrow." Many would probably leave for other parts before the state and county governments were restored and would thus escape the payment of licenses.⁴⁸

This suggestion did not meet with the approval of Sherman. Tax money due the state and county, he believed, should remain in the hands of the people until those units should "resume their appropriate functions." Should the city's revenue prove insufficient for efficient city government, he would levy some kind of military contribution.⁴⁹

This last proposal was apparently prompted by the General's

⁴⁶*Argus*, quoted in *Daily Appeal*, November 13, 1862.

⁴⁷*Daily Appeal*, November 20, 1862.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, September 5, 1862.

⁴⁹Sherman to Park, October 1, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 252.

displeasure over the inefficiency of the municipal police. The press commented on October 10 that burglars had "cleaned out all who had money, and their next move, it is surmised, will be to steal not only our police, but our excellent municipal government. What a calamity that would be!" The increase in the number of policemen had been accompanied by an increase in inefficiency.⁵⁰ In an effort to check the increase in lawlessness, Sherman created a military commission which was to sit daily in the office of the provost marshal at Third and Court. This commission was to try all offenses against the laws of war. Sentences were subject to approval of the commanding general and were to be executed by the provost marshal. The city police was placed under the supervision of the provost marshal, but the policemen were still to be appointed and paid by the city authorities. Each policeman was to be held accountable for any burglary, robbery or disturbance which occurred on his beat. In each case he was to be tried "for complicity or neglect," and he would be required to prove that he was "on his post and vigilant." Vagrants and persons known to have bad reputations who had "no visible means of support" were to be put on the public works. All persons were ordered to remain at home at night unless they had special permission to be out until midnight.⁵¹

The burden of supporting the city government and the fear of a "military contribution" caused the municipal authorities to seek other methods of raising revenue. On November 25, 1862, the city council passed an ordinance authorizing the issuance of "shinplasters" ranging in value from ten cents to five dollars. The Mayor explained that there was no time to argue over the constitutionality of an act which had become a "military necessity." It was the only hope of avoiding an assessment and thus subjecting the city to complete control by the military authorities. Alderman Morgan added that right was of little importance when a city was governed by might. The question was not what law was right but what law was necessary. The military authorities had ordered the police force increased and ordered the city to pay the bill. Alderman Tighe disagreed. Rather than pass an ordinance which he considered opposed to the laws of the state and the city charter, he favored making the policemen wait three months for their pay. General Sherman did not favor the use of "shinplasters," and Tighe insisted that every legal method should be used before resorting to the issuance of paper money.⁵²

⁵⁰*Bulletin*, October 10, 16, 1862.

⁵¹O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 294-96; *Bulletin*, October 26, 1862.

⁵²*Bulletin*, November 26, 1862.

Tighe was correct. Upon learning that the city authorities were considering a "shinplaster" proposal, Sherman immediately expressed his disapproval of the issuance of this "worthless trash." Since in Mexico soap was sometimes used for money, he suggested that Memphis put up cotton in bales of five, ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents value and use them as money. The *Bulletin* commented that owing to the scarcity of circulating medium it might be necessary to give Sherman's proposal serious consideration. It suggested that the parcels of cotton be pressed into the "shape and size of a plug of tobacco" and that a hole be left in the middle of each plug. Those going to market could then easily carry their cotton plugs strung on a walking cane.⁵³

As a result of Sherman's disapproval Mayor Park did not sign the "shinplaster" ordinance, but \$3,000 or \$4,000 in paper money were printed anyway. On January 7, 1863, the council adopted a resolution declaring the ordinance null and void and forbidding the acceptance of such notes by city officials. As explained by Alderman Morgan, the purpose of the resolution was to let the public know that the circulation of such notes was not authorized by the city government.⁵⁴

General Sherman continued to increase his control over city affairs. The fact that Memphis was surrounded by guerrillas, who were being supplied with both provisions and information by Confederate sympathizers within the city, forced Sherman to abandon his lenient policy. Early in October, 1862, guerrillas fired on the steamers *Catahoula*, *Dicky*, and *Gladiator*. In retaliation for this attack a chosen group of Confederate sympathizers and their families were ordered to leave the city. Each person chosen was notified that since members of their families in guerrilla bands and the Confederate army had by firing on steamers conspired to lessen and restrict supplies bound for Memphis, it was "but the exercise of ordinary prudence to lessen the necessity of those supplies by decreasing the population of the city." This notice was sent to thirty persons, but Sherman postponed the execution of the order for fifteen days in order to give Confederate General Pemberton an opportunity to disavow the attack. When no disavowal came Sherman declared that "all Confederate allies and adherents shall feel the power of an indignant Government." No fewer than thirty-two individuals and two whole families were sent out.⁵⁵

⁵³O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 874-75; *Bulletin*, December 7, 1862.

⁵⁴*Bulletin*, January 7, 9, 16, 1863.

⁵⁵*Daily Appeal*, October 24, 1862; *Bulletin*, October 19, 22, November 1, 1862; Sherman to Mrs. Valeria Hurlbut, November 7, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 860.

In the meantime, the progress of the Union clubs was checked both by fear of what the Confederates might do if the city were retaken and by fear of action by the local courts. Soon after taking command in Memphis, Sherman expressed a desire to see at least one civil court restored, and authorized Judge J. T. Swayne to convene the criminal court. The opening of the fall session was scheduled for the first Monday in October, but when the Judge arrived he found the room occupied by soldiers and "out of order and untenable." Court was adjourned in order to allow time to put the room in order and for the appointment of a sheriff *pro tem*. Apparently the sheriff had disappeared when the Federals took over the city. Swayne insisted that the sheriff was at his country home, but since there was little for him to do in a town occupied by soldiers, that official had not made his appearance within the city. If a sheriff *pro tem*. was to be appointed it would have to be done by the county court. But when that body had been recently called into session at Raleigh only two members made their appearance.⁶⁶

There could be no session of the common law and chancery courts. John C. Lanear, the clerk, was available, but Judge Dixon, probably in "apprehension of personal inconvenience from Federal authorities," had not made his appearance. According to Judge Swayne, even if Judge Dixon were present the sessions of both courts would be extremely short owing to the impossibility of finding witnesses or securing depositions.

When Judge Swayne's criminal court finally convened early in November, 1862, the Judge charged the grand jury to give attention to violations of state laws on slaves and slavery. This immediately brought from Provost Marshal D. C. Anthony an order that no attempt should be made to enforce any state law which was "at variance with the orders of the President and the military commanders." Any such attempt would "be construed as a contempt of the authority of the United States." Until the proper authorities should determine the status of the runaway slave, he must be considered as a free man. The criminal court must limit its business to the punishment of crime.⁶⁷

The controlled press vigorously denounced Judge Swayne for "introducing an exciting political question" when there was no slavery case before the court. The members of the recently organized Union clubs became uneasy. They feared an attempt to punish

⁶⁶Sherman to Joseph Tagg, November 17, 1862, in *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 869; *Bulletin*, October 7, 14, 1862.

⁶⁷*Bulletin*, October 14, November 13, 1862; *Daily Appeal*, November 15, 1862.

them for alleged violations of state law. But Sherman assured them that "no insult shall be made to our Government by Judge Swayne or anybody else, and stand unrebuked." He would tolerate none of this "secession and State's rights nonsense." Should the criminal court dare "attempt to indict a Union man for his opinion, or attempt to punish others for hiring a runaway slave, . . . Judge Swayne and that grand jury would learn a lesson in politics that would last them to their dying day."⁸⁸

Sherman warned Swayne against "unintentionally drifting your country and people to ruin, misery, and death." In charging his grand jury the Judge had omitted any reference to a recent act of the United States which authorized the confiscation of runaway or captured slaves. Surely he had foreseen the conflict between state and Federal laws on this subject. This was a case where "a too delicate sense of . . . official obligations" on the part of the Judge had brought on a "direct conflict between the State and National authorities." He pointed out that according to the charge the jury would be bound to find bills against all persons who assisted or employed a runaway slave. He wished to see the court punish crime, but the laws of the United States must be respected. "For God's sake, he added, "don't let this accursed question of slavery blind your mind to the thousand other duties and interests that concern you and the people among whom you live."⁸⁹

The Union clubs sought to take advantage of the situation and get Sherman to overthrow the court and allow them to establish a new one, but the General was not yet ready to go that far. He considered lawyers and judges essential to the formation of a court. The Union men were not yet prepared but might soon be if they would only be patient and prudent. He hoped to see a complete victory over the "secesh" in both arms and law.⁹⁰

The Judge was checked but not convinced that he should disregard the laws of the state under which he held office. When court again convened early in February, 1863, he told the grand jury that he was cognizant of the circumstances which prevented the enforcement of Tennessee laws relative to slavery, but "as a judge under solemn oath" he had "no right in law or conscience to ignore those laws more than any others in the code of Tennessee."

⁸⁸*Bulletin*, November 13, 1862; Sherman to Joseph Tagg, November 17, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 869.

⁸⁹Sherman to Judge J. T. Swayne, November 12, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 863-65.

⁹⁰Sherman to Joseph Tagg, November 17, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 870.

He considered these laws to be as valid as the state or national constitution, and since the Federal authorities possessed no power to make them he denied that they had the "power to disturb them." Under military rule he was powerless to enforce these laws, but he still had the desire to do his duty to the state and public.⁶¹

Again the press hastened to the attack and denounced the Judge for attempting to add fuel to the flames and prolong the "irrepressible conflict." His statements on state's rights were declared orthodox secession without even a "change of dress." The Judge, according to the *Bulletin*, gave evidence of a woeful lack of the sentiments of a patriot.⁶²

Late in April, 1863, James C. Veatch, the new commanding general, issued an order creating a civil commission to serve as a common law court to hear the complaints of honest Union people of the city. It was not long before the commission and the criminal court came into conflict. One Mrs. McEwen was sent to jail in default of bond for failing to appear before the criminal court and answer a charge of larceny. Her attorney asked the civil commission for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The attorney general argued that a military court had no authority to issue such a writ; that larceny was a violation of state law and ought to be decided by a state court. The commissioners conferred with the commanding general, and then declared that henceforth they would consider the criminal court as defunct since Tennessee was still in rebellion.⁶³

Encouraged by the protection which had been guaranteed by General Sherman, Union men became bolder. As early as October, 1862, they began to advocate the election of a United States congressman from the Memphis district. Ben Nabers, one of the editors of the *Bulletin* and a pre-war representative from Mississippi, had his eye on the position. J. M. Tomeny was also a candidate. Little is known of his activities except that at the beginning of the war he was a railroad man in Memphis and was considered to be a supporter of the Confederacy.

The election was set for December 29, 1862, but General S. A. Hurlbut, who had succeeded Sherman, had it postponed until January 20. He believed that guerrilla activities would prevent anything like a "fair expression of sentiment" in the other three counties which were included in the district. The postponement would also allow time for a great many newcomers to meet the six months residence requirement for voting.⁶⁴

⁶¹*Bulletin*, February 11, 1863; *Daily Appeal*, February 18, 1863.

⁶²*Bulletin*, February 18, 1863.

⁶³*Ibid.*, May 13, June 10, 1863.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, December 27, 1862.

Before January 20 arrived Hurlbut had been succeeded by General James C. Veatch. In spite of the small amount of interest which had been shown, the election was held, but even Union men pronounced it a farce. Nabers withdrew his name from the ticket, and the *Bulletin* bitterly denounced Mayor Park for insisting that the election be carried out as planned. This was a face saving move on the part of editor Nabers, but Park was anxious for the election to be held in order to test Union strength. Of the approximately 15,000 who had taken the oath, not more than 700 voted. The election amounted to nothing, however, because it had already been cancelled by an order from General Grant.⁶⁵

When General Hurlbut postponed the election, he showed knowledge of the true situation. The city was "restless but cowed,"⁶⁶ but in the surrounding country guerrilla bands continued their activities and threatened to terminate the Federal use of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. Hurlbut answered this threat with a declaration that the railroad would be used even if it took the expulsion of every disloyal family in Memphis. For each attack made upon a train "ten families of most noted secessionists" would be sent south and the first to go would be from the wealthy and socially prominent. Confederate sympathizers were held responsible for the activities of these "irregular forces which are mainly kept up and supplied by their sympathizers in and about the city."⁶⁷

Writers in the Union press demanded that all secessionists be forced to leave for the South. Such people should not be allowed to remain in Memphis "to consume the food and exhaust the supplies" which should be reserved for those who loved their country. Disloyalty had become so open, it was charged, that when news of the defeat of the army of General Hooker arrived in town "men and women who loved the damnable anarchy of Jeff Davis and his hordes better than the government of the United States" almost took the town. Loyal citizens were insulted and forced to use the side streets. The Union was openly cursed and the Confederacy praised. Saloons were crowded and whiskey flowed freely as "three cheers and a tiger were given for Jeff Davis." Why should loyal people be subjected to such humiliation? "May God or General Grant remove them hence."⁶⁸

General Hurlbut, who had recently been restored to command in the city, waited for neither God nor General Grant. He

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, January 20, 21, 1863.

⁶⁶Hurlbut to Grant, December 30, 1862, in O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 507.

⁶⁷*Bulletin*, January 6, 1863.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, May 2, 7, 9, 10, 1863.

issued an order for the arrest of any person whose words or actions were insulting to the United States or who expressed satisfaction over news of Confederate success. An entire year under Federal occupation had given ample time for citizens "to make their deliberate election of the sovereignty to which they owe their allegiance." Therefore, all residents of Memphis were ordered to register within twenty days, signifying whether loyal, disloyal, or alien.⁶⁰

By the middle of June, 7,000 had registered as loyal, 301 as alien, and six had possessed the courage to register as disloyal. By the end of the twenty-day period loyal registration had exceeded 11,000, but as one of the registrants explained, many had not registered of their own free will and therefore did not "feel bound by it."⁶¹

Early in April, 1863, General Hurlbut had occasion to use his earlier order concerning guerrilla attacks. A train was attacked near Moscow, Tennessee. The *Bulletin* reported the attack to have been by guerrillas, but the *Daily Appeal* stated that it was by Confederate cavalry. In retaliation, Hurlbut ordered ten families, totaling sixty-three persons, banished from Memphis. Among them were the families of Eugene Mageveny, Wardlow Howard, D. B. Molloy, W. B. Townsend, and T. A. Nelson. All were prominent in city life.⁶²

The campaign to crush the secessionists increased the burden upon the city treasury. The yield from the special taxes which had been levied was disappointing. Early in February, 1863, the council repealed these taxes and reduced the police force to its original number. But this still did not bring the necessary financial relief. Too few persons were prompt in the payment of their taxes. The government had confiscated a large amount of property, variously estimated at from one fifth to one third of the total. No taxes were being paid on this property and but little on that which remained in private hands. Mayor Park told the council that there appeared "to be a general disposition on the part of real estate owners not to pay taxes if they can possibly avoid it."

Almost in despair the city government requested General Veatch to authorize some form of extra taxation. In accordance with this request, he ordered a monthly increase of ten per cent on all annual licenses. The city tax collector was authorized to collect the state and county taxes on privileges within a radius of two miles of Court

⁶⁰O. R., Ser. II, Vol. V, 711; *Bulletin*, May 27, 1863.

⁶¹*Bulletin*, June 14, 1863; letter signed by Mary Lee Thorne, in *ibid.*, August 5, 1863.

⁶²*Bulletin*, April 2, 1863; *Daily Appeal*, April 6, 1863.

Square. Later in the year a representative was sent to Washington to request President Lincoln to authorize payment of taxes on confiscated property. Lincoln and Secretary Stanton agreed that the case had its merits, but believed that nothing could be done while the war continued.⁷²

The merchants raised a loud protest against the ten per cent increase. The *Bulletin* took it up and turned it into a political matter, charging that the real estate owners who controlled the city government were not bearing their part of the burden. The only remedy was to elect a mayor who would be fair in his dealings with all elements.⁷³

Mayor John Park recorded himself as a Union man every time a division was required. But his political enemies accused him of insincerity, and never let the public forget that he was also mayor under the Confederacy. As time for the city election of 1863 drew near, the Union press opened an attack upon the Mayor. Attention was called to the fact that when President Davis had set aside a day for prayer in 1861, the Mayor had issued a proclamation asking the people of Memphis to observe it. But when President Lincoln asked for a day of prayer the "loyal" Mayor took no notice of the fact. In answer to the attack Park recited a long list of loyal acts which he had performed since the Federal troops took possession of the city, and closed with a statement which had once been made to him by General Sherman: "I only want to know what a man is *now*, not what he has been; as the sinner who repents at the eleventh hour is entitled to a seat in Heaven, as if perfect."⁷⁴

The Union celebration of the first anniversary of the fall of Memphis brought a lull in campaign activities. On June 6 a huge parade was held. An enthusiastic Unionist described it as a "glorious display . . . of beauteous ladies and gallant men." Many features of the earlier parade were reproduced but one interesting new feature elicited much comment. A number of carts carried a series of paintings depicting the fall of Memphis. The first pictured the battle of the river, and then came the landing of the Federals, the chopping down of the Confederate flag pole on the bluff, and the raising of the United States flag over the postoffice. The last picture showed a beautiful lady labelled "Union" with sword in hand making an attack upon two copperhead snakes.⁷⁵ Of all those persons listed as taking an active part in the celebration there was no mention of the Mayor.

⁷²*Bulletin*, March 6, 7, April 8, 1863.

⁷³*Ibid.*, May 29, 31, 1863.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, May 10, 14, 1863.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, June 7, 1863.

The celebration over, the press resumed its attack upon Park. Many columns of letters from the Mayor's political enemies were printed without charge, but the Mayor's replies were labelled as advertisements. J. M. Tomeny used the columns of the *Bulletin* to denounce Park as totally unfit for office and one whose "incapacity amounts to imbecility." The only reason Park had ever been elected mayor, he asserted, was the multiplicity of candidates. Park had never received a majority vote. In reply, the Mayor branded Tomeny as a "God-forsaken skunk." Living in the country, Tomeny was not eligible for the office of mayor, so he must be seeking some place where he could plunder the treasury. "I would as soon trust my cats with cream."⁷⁶

A group of merchants, fretting under the heavy tax burden, endorsed Charles Kortrecht for mayor. Park was reelected by a majority of 985, carrying every ward except one. The *Bulletin* pronounced the election a farce and a "shameless disregard of all law and precedent." Never had there been so much corruption. But it was consoling to know that the "honest, intelligent, reflecting Union men" voted against Park.⁷⁷

The excitement over the city election was mild when compared to that produced when General Hurlbut issued his order No. 157. This order announced that all men of military age and physically fit were liable for service. Therefore, enough of such men would be impressed into the service to raise the existing regiments to their maximum strength. Hurlbut confided to Colonel J. C. Kelton that he would "either obtain recruits or get rid of a dangerous population." But a few days later it was announced that those who would sign up with a home guard for the purpose of protecting the city against Confederates would be exempt from order No. 157. It was explained that service in the home guard or militia would not interfere with daily work unless the city should be actually invaded.⁷⁸

In spite of persuasion the number of enlistments was disappointing. Officers complained of "extreme apathy of the people" and professed to detect "a latent spirit of treason lurking in this community." Many of those who enlisted did not make their appearance for drill. John Dowd, who had been appointed to command the militia, resigned in disgust. Authorities sent out notices that those who did not appear would be compelled to do so. The press remarked that the Irving Block, the Bastille on Court Square, was

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, June 19, 20, 24, 1863.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, June 26, 28, 1863.

⁷⁸O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. III, 160, 180; *Bulletin*, November 9, 22, 1863.

being relieved of many old prisoners in order to make room for those who failed to comply with orders.⁷⁹

After December 12 all persons who appeared on the streets were required to carry a certificate of enrollment or exemption. Those having neither were to be placed in the regular army. During the first week an average of about one hundred arrests were made daily. Some were fined from \$10 to \$500 and enrolled in the militia. Others were apparently forced into the regular army. Many were said to have left the city to avoid impressment.⁸⁰

Attorney John Hallum was not long in making his contacts, and within a few days many Memphians were in possession of certificates of exemption from service. According to Hallum, General John McDonald, who had been placed in charge of the enrollment, came to his office and offered to sell exemptions for \$100 each. Hallum explained that many who were interested could not raise that much money. McDonald then agreed to exempt the whole brigade of about 3,000 for \$7,500, and the bargain was made. McDonald later claimed that his name had been forged by Hallum, who of his own action had sought to discharge the militia. Hallum, resenting the charge, went to McDonald's office "pulled down the railing behind which he was fenced off, knocked him down, [and] jumped on the warrior dude." McDonald had to be "carried off for repairs," and Hallum was arrested and taken before General Hurlbut, who fined him \$1,000 and sent him to prison for two months. Hallum later stated that the reason there was no trial was that he knew enough to "run a den of thieves into Major General Hurlbut's office."⁸¹ In his report of the case Hurlbut stated that Hallum was "convicted of surreptitiously procuring passes and exemptions, and disposing of the same for large sums of money." He denounced Hallum as "an unscrupulous pettifogger" who knew these passes "were obtained by some underhand practice." He thought Memphis needed an example and "Mr. Hallum supplies the subject."⁸²

From the time Federal troops entered Memphis conditions within the city had grown steadily worse. The winter of 1862-63 was a hard one. Many families whose men folk were away in the

⁷⁹*Bulletin*, November 26, December 9, 11, 1863.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, December 12, 18, 19, 1863.

⁸¹Hallum, *Diary*, 313-18; *Bulletin*, March 5, 6, 8, 1864. The *Bulletin* verified only a part of Hallum's story. It reported that Adjutant J. C. Cohen and Hallum entered into a conspiracy and sold exemptions for \$50 each. No mention was made of McDonald as a party to the conspiracy.

⁸²O. R. Ser. I, Vol. XXXII, Pt. III, 206. Hallum stated that the militia was not again enrolled but this is an error. The press continued to carry accounts of militia drills.

army found themselves without the necessities of life. Even the Negroes upon whom they had depended deserted them. General Sherman, realizing the plight of these people, called upon all persons to "lay animosities aside" and come to the aid of the needy. Travelers in the city gave a very unfavorable report. They found living expenses "more extortionate than at one of the fashionable watering places." The food supply which came in from the North was ample but expensive. These high prices were thought to be due to "insecurity of a city so little removed from the enemies' lines" and the fact that the money received by soldiers "burned through their pockets."⁸³

The population of the city in February, 1863, was estimated at 11,000 original whites, 5,000 slaves, and 19,000 newcomers of all kinds, including traders, fugitives, hangers-on, and Negroes. The original residents were mostly the aged, "the respectable and conservative" who for various reasons had not joined the army. Among them also were the wives and children of Confederate soldiers. The newcomers in general were a "crowd of sharks, cormorants, sharpers, gamblers, speculators, anxious relatives seeking for sick soldiers The most mixed, assorted, and grotesque lot of mortals crowded together imaginable."⁸⁴

The "hells" of the city were wide open for the benefit of the gamblers. The "Senate," the most flourishing of the group, was frequented by high ranking army officers who played heavily and were expected soon to be forced "to prostitute their offices" in order to continue playing. Throughout the city, the "want, the extravagance, the vice, filth, squalor, discomfort, disease, dirt and destruction" could not be equaled. "It is the most utterly damnable and desperate place in which a refined man or a refined woman was ever reduced to live."⁸⁵

The spring rains left the much-traveled streets almost impassable. Even the horseback riders preferred the narrow sidewalks, and it took a military order to get them off. The hard winter left the outskirts of the city lined with dead horses and mules, and the streets were filled with "filth enough to poison the Mississippi from source to mouth." On Madison Street the gutters stood full of refuse and kitchen slop. Dogs roamed the streets in packs, feeding on filth and even threatening attacks upon pedestrians. To add to these woes smallpox hit the city early in 1863 and spread rapidly, especially among the Negroes, many of whom strolled the

⁸³New York World, quoted in *Bulletin*, February 12, 1863.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

streets while "almost purulent with that disease." Moral life of the city sank to such a low ebb that decent women dared not travel the streets for fear of being classed as part of the "perfect bee hive of women of ill fame."⁸⁶

But life in occupied Memphis was never dull. Those who liked to argue found ample opportunity while the city council debated whether R. Hungerford should be granted permission to operate horse cars on the Main Street car track. The opposition argued that since the track had been put down by secessionists it ought to be taken up. It should not be used to enrich "a few speculators to the detriment of the chief thoroughfare of our city." Others became much concerned over the question of whether to continue pouring gravel into the ruts and mud holes on Main or put down oak timbers in the form of what was known as "Nicholson pavement." Those who desired real excitement were not disappointed. Two women were severely cut in a fight in Court Square. Two men by the name of Hart and McLaughlin put on a horse race down Beale Street. They were fined twelve dollars each, but "faster time was never made on Beale Street; the trotters fairly flew." A favorite Sunday sport for the rougher element was to get drunk and terrorize South Memphis, filling the air with their hideous yells and forcing women and children to flee for safety.⁸⁷

The Union press blamed the Park administration for the condition of affairs within the city. With the streets filled with dead animals, "vile women, gamblers, thieves, and vagabonds," the city government had done nothing, asserted the *Bulletin*. The laws of the city were "a nullity" because Mayor Park was a nullity. When a group of friends of the city administration, in preparation for the city election to be held in June, 1864, held a caucus and renominated Park, they were denounced as "copperheads and coppercrats." In spite of the Mayor's avowed friendliness to the Union cause, a rumor was circulated that should he be reelected General Washburn would suspend the civil government and set up a military one. In the hope of putting an end to such a rumor, Park addressed a letter to Washburn asking him the direct question. The General replied: "I answer unhesitatingly, that such is the 'intention.' " He considered the city government both disloyal and inefficient. He hoped the loyal people of Memphis would elect a government friendly to the Union, but should this hope not

⁸⁶*Bulletin*, March 11, April 10, 29, 30, May 1, 15, August 4, 1863.

⁸⁷*Union Appeal*, August 28, 1862; *Daily Appeal*, July 30, September 5, 1862; *Bulletin*, September 26-November 4, 1862, April 29, May 5, 1863.

be realized he was determined that there should "be no hostile municipal government within my jurisdiction."⁸⁸

The Mayor and his friends were not deterred by the hostility of Washburn. The opposition was badly split and put out two so-called Union tickets. The one headed by Samuel T. Morgan was opposed by the *Bulletin* because it included some names also found on the Park ticket. J. B. Bingham, the editor, would accept no ticket as conservative as this one. He sought to overthrow the whole Morgan ticket and advocated the support of an "unconditional Union" ticket headed by Dr. G. D. Johnson.⁸⁹ Both Morgan and Johnson were members of the city council but hostile to the Mayor.

Again friends of the Confederacy and some others rallied to to the support of the Park administration. Park and no fewer than eight of the members of the council were reelected. Park received 426 votes and the total number cast for Johnson and Morgan was only 222. Judging by the light vote and the large Park majority, the merchants must have taken little interest in the election. The *Bulletin* sarcastically remarked that perhaps "our merchants don't want to be bothered with the choice of city officers, and don't desire a voice in the assessment of taxes." The defeat was due to the lack of union among Union men.⁹⁰

Washburn promptly charged the Park administration with inefficiency, disloyalty, a "want of sympathy" for the United States, and an "indisposition to cooperate with Military authorities." The civil government was ordered suspended and the city placed under martial law. Lieutenant Colonel T. H. Harris was appointed acting mayor, and two weeks later a provisional board of aldermen was designated.⁹¹

Four days after the overthrow of the civil government, another occasion arose under which military authorities could demonstrate the determination to punish Confederate sympathizers. The guerillas had been active again and had fired upon trains between Memphis and LaGrange, Tennessee. Military authorities immediately ordered that in the future each train leaving Memphis must carry a "Secesh Guard" stationed at the most exposed places on the cars. The guard was to be selected from the most prominent secessionists from Memphis to La Grange. If the guerillas decided to shoot then let their friends take the fire. The first guard went out on the morning of July 9. On the following day the press commented that the

⁸⁸Frank Moore (comp.), *Rebellion Records*, 11 vols. (New York, 1861-68), XI, 591; *Bulletin*, June 3, 19, 26, 1864.

⁸⁹*Bulletin*, June 30, 1864.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, July 1, 1864.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, July 2, 17, 1864.

morning train carried out a guard of twenty, headed by C. A. Stillman of the defunct city council and including five merchants, two bankers, and three physicians. But on July 11 notice was given that the train guards had been relieved from duty for the present.⁹²

Shortly after the suspension of the city government, Mayor Park was arrested and placed in the Irving Block. He was released the next day, but was rearrested on August 23 for what the press termed "treasonable sentiments, uttered in the most vindictive manner," accompanied by a violent denunciation of General Washburn.⁹³ How long the Mayor was confined in the "Bastille" is not known.

On September 6, 1864, military authorities ordered that a colored regiment be organized in Memphis and that this body of troops be known as the Corps d'Afrique. By the end of the month two companies had been raised, but the plan to raise five others could not be carried out without compulsion. On November 14 all Negroes between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were ordered to enroll before November 20. This order was shortly followed by another revoking all exemptions which had been granted to whites or blacks. Those who desired a renewal of their exemptions were required to make application to an examining board. The practice of "allowing wealthy, influential, or socially agreeable people to shirk their duty by granting them excuses, furloughs or passes which may be renewed at pleasure; practically exempting them from military duty" was condemned and ordered stopped. This order resulted in such an exodus that the streets, which had recently been crowded and busy, took on a "disconsolate appearance."⁹⁴

The excitement within the city was further increased when General Canby ordered that Memphis furnish a quota of 750 men for the Union army. Both whites and blacks were to be accepted as volunteers, but if these volunteers did not fill the quota others would be drafted. Alarmed whites began to plan ways to get Negroes to volunteer. The city government was asked to appropriate money to hire Negroes to enter the service. Receiving no favorable response, interested whites then called a mass meeting for the purpose of raising money enough to give each volunteer an extra fifty dollars. But even with this inducement the number of enlistments fell 150 short of the quota. This number was apparently drafted on February 15, 1865.⁹⁵

There was little progress in the development of loyal sentiment in Memphis during the last year of the war. Many left the city

⁹²*Ibid.*, July 9, 10, 11, 1864.

⁹³*Ibid.*, August 13, 23, 1864.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, September 27, November 17, December 17, 1864, January 5, 1865.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, January 20, 21, 24, February 16, 1865.

to avoid the draft, and the majority of those who remained merely submitted to military domination. Social life was almost nonexistent in a city where "no ball, dance or entertainment" could be held without the consent of military authorities. A few loyal men took a lively interest in politics, but the masses refused to be stirred. When Governor Andrew Johnson issued a proclamation calling for the selection of presidential electors on November 8, 1864, the loyal element in Memphis made a desperate effort to get a large number of Memphians to qualify to vote. The dates set for taking Johnson's oath and registering were October 17-22. But when very few prospective voters presented themselves the time was extended another week. It was argued that the light registration was caused by the presence of General Forrest in West Tennessee. But by the end of the next week the registration was still so small that the time was extended to November 5. "Register! Register!" cried the *Bulletin*. It "costs nothing" and is "proof of loyalty that no Union man should forego."⁹⁶ It was no use. Only 1801 votes were cast in Memphis and Shelby County combined, but Union men estimated that there were probably as many as 4500 who could have qualified. A prominent Unionist wrote Andrew Johnson that the laboring classes showed their loyalty, but the wealthy and prominent refused to vote and worked to keep others from doing so.⁹⁷

Even when it was generally known that the end of the war was near, Confederate sympathizers still held aloof from Union politics. The lack of loyalty was never more in evidence than on February 22, 1865. A Tennessee state convention had adopted an amendment providing for the abolition of slavery and submitted it to the voters for ratification. Only 873 Memphians voted for the amendment and six against it. In commenting on the lack of interest shown, the *Bulletin* declared: "The moral deduced . . . clearly is that a large majority of the people of Memphis are utterly opposed to the proceedings of the recent State Convention." From the attitude shown, the editor prophesied that John Park would be restored to the office of mayor as soon as such an election was authorized.⁹⁸

The surrender of General Robert E. Lee and the end of the war put an end to the need for military government in Memphis. A city election was authorized for June 29 and the "conquered but unrepentant rebels" returned John Park to the office of mayor. On July 3, 1865, civil government was restored in Memphis.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, August 17, October 30, 1865.

⁹⁷Clifton Hall, *Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee* (Princeton, 1916), 156.

⁹⁸*Bulletin*, February 24, March 5, 1865.

A DECADE OF EAST TENNESSEE REPUBLICANISM

1867-1876*

By Verton M. Queener

By the summer of 1867, the Radical Unionist party of East Tennessee with its supporters in other sections had gained complete control of the state, had adopted the name Republican, and was laying plans to become the majority party in Tennessee. In the August election of 1867, the Radical party won the governorship by a vote of three to one over their Conservative Unionist opponents. During the gubernatorial campaign the party was called the Unionist, Unconditional Unionist, Radical, Radical Unionist, and Republican party.¹ By the triumphant close of the campaign, the victors had proudly adopted the name Republican.²

The leaders of this new Republican party feared that it would not continue to be the majority party of the state. They realized that the overwhelming victory in the campaign was due to two laws passed by the Radical legislature, one which disfranchised ex-Confederates,³ and the other which enfranchised the Negroes. Brownlow's paper claimed that there were 40,000 loyal whites in Tennessee who would vote the Republican ticket, and that enfranchisement of the Negroes added 40,000 more. It further contended that the opposition contained only about 80,000 voters, the great majority of whom were disfranchised and would continue to be for a number of years.⁴ Democratic feeling on the question was expressed by the *Nashville Banner*, which declared after the disfranchising law was passed, "there are not 5,000 honest men in Tennessee who can vote under it." This condemnation was answered by a Radical paper in Nashville which contended that 82,000 men not only honest but also loyal could vote under the new law.⁵ This question of which party was to be the majority party was to be decided in the political struggles over a period of some years and over many issues.

For a clear understanding of the position and desires of both parties it should be said at the outset that the Republican party was

*This is a continuation of an article, "The Origin of the Republican Party in East Tennessee," which appeared in *Publications* No. 13.

¹Knoxville *Whig*, March 13, 1867.

²*Ibid.*, August 21, 1867.

³*Acts of Tennessee*, 34 General Assembly, 3 Session, 1866-67, p. 27 ff. The Republicans had polled in the August election, 74,034 votes as opposed to 22,550 for the Democrats.

⁴Knoxville *Whig*, April 25, 1867, and other issues during the campaign of 1867.

⁵*Ibid.*, April 25, 1867, quoting the *Nashville Press and Times*.

composed mainly of loyalists and a few others who had decided to cast their lot with the Republicans after the war.⁶ They represented a minority of the people of the state and maintained control by questionable use of the ballot box, election laws, and the state militia.⁷ This minority control helps to explain the bitterness which was almost sure to appear in every campaign even on minor issues. The Democrats were the "Disloyal." They had fought for or supported the Confederacy, had lost, and were in 1867 political outcasts. Nevertheless, the Republicans knew that according to existing law the main body of Democrats would regain the franchise in about four years and others would be re-enfranchised later; hence the aim of the Republicans was to build their party into a majority party before the Democrats came back to the ballot box. On the other hand the aim of the Democrats was to get back to the ballot box as soon as possible.

The material herein is concerned with the issues, men, and events within the Republican party during a decade. For the first two years of this decade the Republicans, mainly East Tennesseans, were in complete control of the state. For a year or so their position was not clear; they were not in control, nor were they out of office. For the remainder of the decade they were being forced into the position of a minority party due largely to poor leadership and sectional interest. This whole process of control and disintegration is best observed by a chronological account of the party through the decade.

A party in power makes friends or enemies by its stand on issues which concern the people. One of the first issues to confront the Republicans concerned the claims against the federal government for property destroyed during the war. Some people believed that property claims of loyalists would be recognized and paid by the federal government. The state government under the prodding of Brownlow, L. C. Houk, R. R. Butler and other East Tennesseans, and at a cost of approximately \$125,000, got these claims together in order that Tennessee's representatives in Congress could aid in their collection. These claims show that a larger part of the destruction was caused by whichever army the residents called the enemy. The total property loss was about \$6,000,000, of which the Union armies had destroyed less than \$2,000,000 worth of property and the Confederates over \$4,000,000. According to Republican political reasoning in 1867, all losses would be paid for by the federal government.

⁶James Ford Rhodes, *History of United States, 1850-1877* (New York, 1906), VI, 200-202.

⁷Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee: A History, 1673-1932* (New York, 1933), I, 631-32.

East Tennessee was the most interested in these claims against the government. Four counties, Anderson, Cocke, Knox and Sequatchie, may be taken as typical. Sequatchie, a Democratic county, had a greater loss by the Federal army than by the Confederate army; in all others the reverse was true, as is shown by the following data:

Claims of Property Destroyed by War ^a			
Anderson County		Knox County	
by Federals . . .	\$ 7,469	by Federals . . .	51,361
by Confederates . .	50,393	by Confederates . .	132,140
Total	57,862	Total	183,501
Cocke County		Sequatchie County	
by Federals	3,280	by Federals	3,543
by Confederates . .	176,297	by Confederates . .	3,111
Total	179,577	Total	6,654

The first two counties, Anderson and Cocke, filed claims for considerably more than the total valuation of taxable property in those counties in 1860 exclusive of land and slaves.⁹ There is no record of these claims ever having been paid. And, while of minor importance, it amounted to an anticipated political reward which turned into political disappointment and failure for the Republican party.

A second issue before the parties and one on which the party in power had to take a stand when it came into full control of the state was the question of Negro privileges.¹⁰ The Negroes had been given the vote by the franchise law of February 25, 1867, but section sixteen of that law had denied them the right to sit on juries or hold office. During the campaign in Tennessee for the governorship in 1867, the Negroes severely criticized the section, which they called the "ojus" sixteenth section.

After the election, the Republicans, under a great deal of pressure from Negroes, Radical newspapers, and Tennessee's Republican congressional delegation, proceeded to change the unpopular section of the franchise law. Granting the Negroes more privileges was risky legislation. First, the Republicans of East Tennessee were ardently opposed to granting any favors to the freedmen. Republicans of Middle Tennessee and West Tennessee were not nearly

⁹Knoxville *Press and Herald*, January 8, 10, 1869.

¹⁰In Anderson County the value of taxable property in 1860 was \$45,545. Anderson County claims totalled \$57,862.00. Cocke County property valuation in 1860 was \$59,169, and the county claims against the government totalled \$179,577.00!

¹¹Knoxville *Press and Herald*, April 11, 1865; ex-President Andrew Johnson in a strong speech showed that the Republicans all along had been interested only in securing the votes of the Negroes.

so hostile.¹¹ The party then being mainly an East Tennessee organization could not afford to go too far with this "political dynamite." Shortly after the legislature met, the Negroes of the state began to clamor for action which the legislature had promised; many Negro meetings were held and threats were made to the effect that the Negroes would "bust the party if that ojus sixteenth section is not eliminated." The *Nashville Press and Times* called upon the legislature "to carry out its promise to the colored voters." Some members of the party called a pressure convention on January 22, 1868 at Nashville to urge the legislature to repeal the sixteenth section of the franchise law. While the convention was being organized all Tennessee's congressmen except Senator David T. Patterson publicly urged the legislature to act on this section.¹²

The major opposition came from an East Tennessean, DeWitt C. Senter. However, on January 31, a law was passed giving the Negroes civil rights equal to those the whites enjoyed, including the right to hold office and to sit on juries. A short time later, an additional law was passed whereby Negroes could not be denied privileges offered to whites by common carriers or hotels. Thus there was on the statute book of Tennessee a civil rights law equal to anything suggested by Charles Sumner in the United States Senate, with the possible exception of joint education.¹³

This political and social triumph of the Negroes caused at least one writer to say: "The situation in Tennessee is intolerable for most of the people; the time are out of joint; the cup of woe has been drained. This state is the most discordant one in the Union."¹⁴ One party effect of the Negro legislation was that the colored voters were confirmed in their political allegiance to the Republican party. The effect on the opposing party was to drive it into the *sub rosa* activities of the Ku Klux Klan and thereby to raise a third issue for the party in power to stumble over.

The Ku Klux Klan forced itself on the attention of the legislators and the people as it grew beyond a partisan political issue and resembled revolution. The organization began at Pulaski, Tennessee, as a fun-making institution and became, in a large measure, a *sub rosa* society dedicated to the purpose of controlling or destroying the state government.¹⁵ It shortly reached such proportions that

¹¹E. M. Coulter, *William G. Brownlow* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 331-40. The *Knoxville Whig* for the spring of 1867 shows this hostility by what it did and did not print about Negroes.

¹²*Nashville Republican Banner*, January 23, 25, 1868.

¹³Hamer, *op. cit.*, II, 632.

¹⁴*American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1868, p. 721.

¹⁵Walter L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (Cleveland, 1917), 347-49.

the state government had to take notice. By 1869 even some Conservatives were worried and opposed to the order. One Knoxville Democratic paper urged that if Democrats were going about the state at midnight in sheets to scare the Negroes, "The sooner the Negroes kill them off the better."¹⁶ When bloodshed seemed imminent, the governor called the legislature into special session and charged that the Klan aimed to overthrow the government by force, enfranchise the rebels and disfranchise the Negroes.¹⁷ He asked for a militia law that would give him power to handle the situation.

A group of ex-Confederates who were men of influence tried to reason with both sides. Such men as Nathan Bedford Forrest, Gideon Pillow, John C. Brown, B. F. Cheatham and W. B. Bate met with the military committee of the legislature and urged that a new militia law be not enacted.¹⁸ But conciliation was not to be, for the Governor had announced: "Our council once for all is that whenever those vile miscreants make their appearance among us, mounted, booted and spurred, and however disguised let the white and colored Radicals meet them promptly, and in the spirit of their own lawless mission, and disperse them, and if need require this in dispersing them, exterminate them."¹⁹

The legislature sat week after week without voting on the Klan law or the new state guard bill. Finally, to accelerate action a convention was called to meet in Nashville, August 12 and 13. Horace Maynard, the presiding officer, addressed the convention at great length and demanded to know whether Tennessee had a real or a sham government.²⁰ Some four weeks later the legislature enacted two laws. One of the laws was called the Ku Klux Klan Act, which provided minimum penalties of \$500 fine and five years imprisonment for belonging to or for aiding or encouraging the Klan or any similar organization. The other was an act providing for the second state guard, by which the governor could urge "every loyal man and good citizen to raise a troupe of soldiers" and report to Nashville.²¹ The party effects of these two laws would not be directly felt for some time, but they did not conciliate and win friends for the party in power; on the other hand they increased the bitterness and widened the gulf between the two parties.²²

Another issue arose from the manner in which the legislature and governor increased the state debt and almost ruined the credit

¹⁶Knoxville Press and Messenger, June 25, 1868.

¹⁷Knoxville Whig, July 30, 1868.

¹⁸Ibid., August 12, 1868.

¹⁹Ibid., March 25, 1868.

²⁰Annual Cyclopaedia, 1868, p. 722ff.

²¹Acts of Tennessee, 35 General Assembly, Extra Session, 1868, p. 19ff.

²²Knoxville Whig, October 14, 1868.

of the state. Back in 1852 Tennessee had adopted a policy of aiding internal improvements, especially railroads. By this policy, the state had lent its credit to railroads to the extent of approximately \$14,000,000 by the time the war began. There was an additional state debt of about \$2,000,000, called the state debt proper. The point of complaint on the part of Democrats was that during a period of some three or four years immediately after the war the state debt was more than doubled and that at the end of reconstruction, so-called, there was little more to show for this \$30,000,000 debt than the ownership of the Hermitage, a new Capitol, and a poor sort of penitentiary. Included in the total debt was additional aid to railroads amounting to about \$14,000,000. This doubled the state's railroad debt. While there was much excuse for spending money on the railroads because they were in a run-down condition as a result of the war, much of this \$14,000,000 was squandered and thrown away in graft.²³ It was estimated that out of the almost \$5,000,000 worth of state bonds voted to the East Tennessee railroads, the roads or companies actually received only about \$350,000 cash because the bonds were next to worthless.²⁴

Another activity along the same line was the handling of the state school fund. In some rather miraculous way, Tennessee came out of the Civil War with some assets of the Bank of Tennessee which could be reclaimed as a school fund. This fund when recovered and returned to Tennessee amounted to some \$600,000 in gold and other currency and securities.²⁵ The Governor fondly referred to this amount as "that sacred fund" and excoriated the Democrats unmercifully because it was not larger. This money was invested in United States bonds that amounted to about \$650,000 in face value. It was to be under the direct supervision of the governor and the secretary of state. Late in 1868, a new bank was organized at Memphis with A. J. R. Rutter as president. This "financier" prevailed upon the secretary of state, R. L. Stanford of Knoxville, to turn over the school fund bonds to the bank and receive in return greenbacks from time to time.²⁶ Shortly afterward the bank became insolvent, and the \$650,000 "sacred fund" was lost completely. Stanford resigned, was criticized by the Governor,

²³S. J. Folmsbee, "The Radicals and the Railroads," in Hamer, *op. cit.*, II, 660-73. See also *Senate Journal*, 41 General Assembly, 1 Session, Appendix, 176-78, for a hint as to how high state officials were corrupted.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Appendix, 10-14.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Appendix 291-326. The state's school fund had been made a part of the capital of the bank when the bank was created in 1838. The remainder of the bank's assets had been lost through investment in Confederate securities.

²⁶Nashville *Banner*, February 3, 1869.

and ended his part by committing suicide.²⁷

Partial effects of the school fund scandal may be seen in a quotation from an Ohio paper, the *Cincinnati Commercial*, a leading "Republican authority of the West." In an editorial entitled "Don't Ruin the Party," it declared:

The recent school fund developments in the Tennessee House of Representatives that has driven its presiding officer into weeping "abdication" and implicated many conspicuous Radicals in transactions "defenseless" from any point of view will be turned to tremendous account by their political opponents.²⁸

Any "turning to tremendous account" in a political way was not immediate, but once it started was of long duration.

The Tennessee Republicans were in power during the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson. Brownlow and Johnson had been political opponents all their lives with but one brief exception, during which, in their opposition to secession, they temporarily stood together. When Brownlow was released from jail at Knoxville and sent through the Confederate lines to Nashville, he and Johnson, then military governor of the state, fell into each others arms like long lost friends. Later, Johnson paved the way for Brownlow's regime in Tennessee.²⁹ Early in 1866, however, as Johnson's opposition to the Radical program in Congress became evident, Brownlow's attitude changed, and by fall the old bitter enmity had been revived. The complete break had come when Johnson opposed the Fourteenth Amendment.³⁰

Johnson, throughout the ordeal of impeachment, retained many supporters in Tennessee among the Unionists, and by his stand against Radicalism he had gained support among ex-Confederates and Conservatives. The leading men of Tennessee who opposed him as military governor were now the outstanding leaders among his supporters in the state; and those who had supported and urged

²⁷*Ibid.*, February 18, 1869, an editorial, "The Unblushing Fraud of the Loyal Plunderers," commenting on a legislative investigating committee; *ibid.*, March, 1869; *Knoxville Press and Herald*, February, March, 1869.

²⁸Quoted in *Nashville Banner*, February 10, 1869.

²⁹*Knoxville Whig*, April 7, 1869; When Johnson was made military governor of Tennessee he was given \$100,000 to be used as he saw fit in the re-establishment of loyalty. Johnson gave Brownlow \$1,500 of this money to help him get his famous *Whig and Rebel Ventilator* going in Knoxville after Burnside took the city. This fund or subsidy of course was never mentioned by Brownlow or anyone else until Johnson came back to Tennessee after his term as President. Then in campaigning the state he told how he had helped Brownlow get his paper started. Brownlow answered by saying that it was not Johnson's money and that the *Whig* had never uttered a word that was not loyal and that was what Johnson was supposed to do with the money. An interesting side light on Johnson is that every dollar of the money was accounted for and about \$85,000 of the \$100,000 placed at his disposal was returned to the federal government.

³⁰*Ibid.*, October 3, 1866; Coulter, *op. cit.*, 308-24.

him on as military governor were now his bitterest critics. This reversal was brought about in part by both Johnson and Brownlow: by Johnson because he had become a conservative when compared with the Radicals in Congress; by Brownlow because he was becoming more and more extreme in his local Radicalism.³¹ After the news reached Tennessee that Johnson was acquitted, Brownlow wrote that "Tennesseans, including Johnson, Patterson and Fowler, have acted so treacherously that I am ashamed to ask the loyal North any longer to confide in any of us."³² The trial served to draw a sharper line between factions in the Radical Republican party in Tennessee. The trial hardly affected the Democrats, who were still disfranchised and only partially reconciled to Johnson anyway.³³

Another major problem facing the Republicans was that of conducting campaigns and elections while they were in control of the state. Their first responsibility in this direction came with the approaching presidential election of 1868. As early as December 6, 1867, the Republicans held

a large and enthusiastic Union meeting composed of members of the Legislature, representing nearly every County in the State, and citizens in the Capitol at Nashville. After speeches by various gentlemen a resolution was adopted calling a State Convention of the Republican party to assemble in Nashville on the 22d day of January. The chief purpose of the Convention will be to select delegates to represent Tennessee in the Convention of the Union party to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice presidency.³⁴

The Conservatives held two state conventions, one to choose men to send to the Democratic national convention, and another to condemn the Radicals for their methods of reconstruction in Southern states. As for Tennessee they condemned the Governor for taking from the state its republican form of government, and for working with the "minions and agents of the party now in possession of the government of the United States," in trying to bring about Negro supremacy in the South.³⁵

The campaign was a sordid affair. A never-ending source of discouragement to the Democrats was the second state guard or militia, composed of both whites and blacks, which was used effectively by the party in power as a threat over the heads of any who wished to campaign or vote against the Republican candidates. The outcome in Tennessee was a surprise to no one. Grant received

³¹Knoxville *Whig*, May 13, 1868.

³²Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

³³James W. Patton, "Tennessee's Attitude Toward the Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," in *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 65-76.

³⁴Knoxville *Whig*, December 11, 1867.

³⁵Coulter, *op. cit.*, 364-65.

56,757 votes and Seymour 26,311. Grant received some 20,000 fewer votes than Brownlow had received in the gubernatorial election the year before. Seymour received only about 4,000 more than Emerson Etheridge, the Democratic candidate, had received in the same gubernatorial election. This change in strength is accounted for largely by the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, which doubtless had succeeded in scaring away from the polls a large number of Negroes.³⁶

The election was not over in Tennessee with the counting of votes, for in the congressional election held at the same time two Conservatives won, along with six or seven Radicals.³⁷ The Governor proceeded to throw out enough votes to elect Radicals in the two congressional districts which had elected Conservatives. Congress, of course, was the final judge of these elections. The Conservatives took their complaint to Congress and that body counted and threw out the identical votes that Governor Brownlow had thrown out in Tennessee. The manner in which the campaign was conducted did not make any friends for the party. Especially is this true when one remembers that the men counted out of office in Middle and West Tennessee were Conservative Republicans and not Democrats.³⁸

After the presidential election of 1868, the Republican party took a few more steps which proved to be inter-party and devisive. One of these steps was taken when Senator-elect Brownlow began making preparations to resign as governor and leave for Washington.³⁹ Some two years before there had been a deal between Brownlow's and Senter's followers to the effect that Brownlow should be elected senator, and Senter chosen speaker of the state Senate so that he would succeed to the governorship upon the resignation of Brownlow.⁴⁰ When the senatorial election was held, only W. B. Stokes had the hardihood to contest with Brownlow, although several other Republicans wanted this political plum. All others withdrew, but Stokes would not withdraw because he was ambitious to be senator and because he thought Brownlow too feeble to per-

³⁶James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 142-43.

³⁷The number is indefinite because Tennessee under a Radical law elected an extra congressman because of Negro suffrage. Congress refused to seat the extra representative because representation had not been reapportioned. The sole authority to determine the number of representatives that Tennessee or any state should have belonged to Congress and not to the state.

³⁸*Congressional Globe*, 41 Congress, 3 Session, 1220ff.

³⁹Joseph A. Sharp, "The Downfall of the Radicals," in *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 5 (1931), p. 106.

⁴⁰*Knoxville Whig*, July 29, 1868.

form any duty.⁴¹ Brownlow defeated Stokes by a vote of 63 to 39. Reverberations of this senatorial election got under way as soon as Senter became governor, because he would have to wage a gubernatorial campaign before the year was out and Stokes planned to air his bitterness toward Brownlow against Senter as Brownlow's political heir.

When Brownlow took his place in the United States Senate, party politics took a sudden turn in Tennessee—a turn toward the conservative element of the state. After Senter became governor early in 1869, the next political move was an election of judges provided for by the legislature—the first for several years. This election was to be held on May 27, 1869. Early in May, Senter disbanded most of the state militia and sent General Joseph A. Cooper back to his farm. These movements pleased the ex-Confederates greatly, but they were still disfranchised according to the law and the Radical registration records. It is clear that Senter was at this time in sympathy with the disfranchisement, for in no case was he lax in enforcing the law for this election. Consequently, all the judgeships were filled by Republicans.⁴² This turned out to be the last election won by the Radical Republicans under their East Tennessee leaders.

The climax of the inter-party strife came to the Republican party during the gubernatorial election of 1869 mentioned above. General William B. Stokes, a congressman, and his followers had decided that Senter should not succeed himself as governor. The pre-convention activities had eliminated all candidates except Senter and Stokes.⁴³ When the delegates met in Nashville on May 20, A. M. Cate, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee and a Stokes supporter, called, or attempted to call the meeting to order. Judge L. C. Houk of East Tennessee nominated T. H. Pearne for temporary chairman. Cate, refusing to recognise Houk, called for nominations and instantly recognized a Stokes man. This man nominated Roderick Random Butler as temporary chairman. The fight was on. Houk called on the convention to vote on Pearne's nomination and declared Pearne elected. Cate declared Butler elected. Both men went to the platform and claimed the chair. Cate would not give it up under these conditions. The convention adjourned until evening, but no organization could be

⁴¹*Ibid.*, October 30, 1867. It had been rumored that Brownlow could not live more than six or eight weeks. See also James W. Patton, "Senatorial Career of William G. Brownlow," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Series II, Vol. I (April, 1931), pp. 153-64.

⁴²Sharp, *op. cit.*, 108.

⁴³*Cong. Globe*, 43 Cong., 2 Sess., 137.

effected. Afterwards the Stokes supporters nominated him as the Republican candidate for governor, and the Senter followers nominated Senter as the Republican candidate. Each man claimed in his acceptance letter to be the real Republican candidate, the true follower of the national Republican party and supporter of the national Republican platform of the previous year."

The Conservative-Democrats did not nominate a candidate, but waited to see which of the two Republican candidates might offer the best bargain. The Nashville *Republican Banner*, early in the campaign, urged the election of a legislature that "will not be proscriptive — let it be non-partisan if possible [but] all know it will be Republican."⁴⁵

The campaign was an interesting and momentous one for all Tennesseans. General William B. Stokes, the nominee of the extremists, was a native of North Carolina. He was fifty-five years old, large, bald, and hooked-nosed. On his farm in DeKalb County, he humored his special interest in horse-racing and in raising blooded stock. His political career had begun in 1849 when he became a member of the lower house of the state legislature. Ten years later he was elected to Congress on the Whig ticket. At the time the war came on, he was opposed to secession, but, like John Bell, upheld the right of revolution, and for a year he seemed to be with the Confederates. However, when Middle Tennessee fell to the Union forces, he cast his lot definitely with the Union army by organizing and heading the Fifth Tennessee Union Cavalry. At the end of the war, he was mustered out as a breveted brigadier-general.⁴⁶ At the time of his nomination for governor, he was a member of the lower house of Congress, and was still smarting under the defeat Brownlow had given him for the senatorship two years before.

Senter, on the other hand, was a young man, born in McMinn County of East Tennessee in 1834. At the time of this canvass he was only thirty-five years of age. He was "rotund, fresh, flushing, and handsome. His face was plump, rosy, and well set off by dark eyes, whiskers, and hair."⁴⁷ Senter's political career began in 1857, when he was elected to the lower house of the General Assembly. In 1859, he was re-elected, and, in 1861, he was admitted to the bar. At first he was a Whig. During the war he was a Union man. When hostilities began he was a member of the legislature. He continued to serve even after Tennessee had formed

⁴⁵Sharp, *op. cit.*, 111-17.

⁴⁶Nashville *Republican Banner*, June 3, 1869.

⁴⁷Will T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans*, (Chicago and New York, 1913), III, 697-99.

⁴⁸Sharp, *op. cit.*, 115n.

a military league with the Confederacy, but his efforts were always in opposition to what was being done by the majority. After the war, Senter was definitely a Radical, but he did not have a very high regard for Negroes. By his conduct as governor during the short time after February 28, Senter had gained favor with both Radicals and Conservatives.⁴⁸

Stokes and Senter first met on the platform in Nashville on June 5, 1869 for the beginning of the joint canvass. The question in everybody's mind was what would be the stand of each candidate on universal suffrage. Stokes made the first speech and spent most of his time berating the Brownlow regime, the mounting state debt, the theft of the school fund, the railroad receivers, and the carpetbag office seekers. All of this pleased the Democrats and ex-Confederates. On suffrage, he proposed to stand on the Chicago Republican platform, and said he "favored gradual enfranchisement" to be accomplished by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly upon each individual disfranchised resident of Tennessee who could prove that he was peaceful and law-abiding.⁴⁹

When Senter arose to speak, he seemed undecided and determined to say little about suffrage. Well along in his speech, Stokes interrupted and asked him if he favored universal suffrage. Senter's answer was a studied and deliberate "yes" and he elaborated by saying that if he were elected he would recommend to the next legislature the removal of all disabilities on those who were taxpayers.⁵⁰ This startling answer then and there put all Democrats, ex-Confederates, and many Republican conservatives on his side.

Senter, no doubt, had analyzed the situation and realized that such a statement would elect him if ex-Confederates could be permitted to vote in the gubernatorial election, while the same statement made by his opponent would have benefited Stokes but little. This paradoxical statement needs a word of explanation. A pledge for universal suffrage on Stokes' part would have turned the ex-Confederates against Senter but would not have enabled them to vote, because Senter, as governor, had complete control of the election machinery and could keep any but the Radicals from voting. The Radicals would have approved such a course by voting for Senter. On the other hand, Senter realized that he could open wide the registration lists and the ballot boxes and let many new voters take part. This he decided to do. And this extension of suffrage was

⁴⁸J. H. Lockhart to L. C. Houk, April 9, 1869, Houk MSS. (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee).

⁴⁹Hamer, *op. cit.*, II., 632-44.

⁵⁰Sharp, *op. cit.*, 116.

carried to such an extent that, before the canvass was over, universal suffrage in Tennessee was again a reality.

This granting of universal suffrage was accomplished by Senter through the changing of registrars and election officials wherever necessary. He could make the changes under the election law of 1866, which gave the governor the powers of a dictator over the ballot box.⁵¹ The Radicals were as desperate as the Democrats and ex-Confederates were jubilant. Radical leaders tried to get injunctions against the removal of registrars; foiled by the courts here, they threatened federal intervention.

In the campaign, Senter was accused of "having gone over to the democratic party," but he had the support of some Radicals like Brownlow and L. C. Houk. Brownlow did not participate directly in the campaign but Houk was active. Senter reassured Houk many times during and after the campaign that he was not and never would be anything politically but a Republican, saying in one letter: "Under no circumstances will I ever join hands with the rotten Defunct party known as the Democratic party; Harris Quarles Kirby Smith Whitthorn [Whitthorne] & half dozen more of that ilk. . . ."⁵² The support of Brownlow and Houk, the leading East Tennessee Radicals, did much to allay Republican feeling that Senter had lined up with the Democrats.⁵³

Senter was elected by the largest majority ever given a governor up to that time (120,333 to 55,056). But in the legislature only twenty-one Republicans of both the Stokes and the Senter factions were elected. Dr. P. M. Hamer, after analyzing the votes in the gubernatorial election, concluded that, if only Radicals had been permitted to vote, Stokes would have been elected.⁵⁴ It should be noted, however, that if Senter had campaigned on the enforcement of the disfranchising law many more Radicals would have voted for him, and by the same token Democrats and ex-Confederates would not and could not have voted for anyone. Any way the election may be analyzed or the outcome explained, the results were that Republican control of Tennessee would end with the next inauguration.⁵⁵

Now that the Republican party's office holding days were

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 119-22; *Knoxville Press and Messenger*, July 21, 1869.

⁵²Senter to Houk, June 20, 1870, Houk MSS. Senter was protesting so ardently because during the campaign his Radicalism had so often been questioned by East Tennesseans.

⁵³The only newspaper in the state owned and edited by a Negro, the *Maryville Republican*, deserted Stokes and declared for Senter.

⁵⁴Hamer, *op. cit.*, II, 650.

⁵⁵*Knoxville Press and Herald*, August 21, 1869; *Nashville Republican Banner*, August 1, 1869.

numbered, the Republican leaders made two last efforts to thwart the Democrats. Some Republican party workers hoped to void the gubernatorial election or to have Tennessee reconstructed by the Federal army. At the end of August, 1869, it was reported that a group of Radicals had met in Nashville and planned a conspiracy against the newly elected governor. Such men as Stokes, Horace Maynard, Alvin Hawkins, Lewis Tillman, several members of the legislature, and others attended this secret meeting and formulated a letter to Senter urging him to reconvene the legislature. Then they planned to have the legislature declare the last election void.⁵⁶ The plan failed, of course, when Senter refused to call a special session of the old legislature.

The second effort was a movement put under way to have Tennessee reconstructed by the Federal army. In July, 1869, while the canvass was on, Roderick Random Butler, a Stokes supporter from the beginning and a national representative from East Tennessee, urged Grant "to have federal office-holders sustaining Senter removed." Grant agreed to lay the request before the cabinet "with his approval." At the same time Stokes, also a member of the national House, was telling his audiences throughout the state how he would return to Washington, if defeated for the governorship, and have the state put under military government.⁵⁷ When Congress convened in December, 1869, J. M. Smith introduced a resolution asking that the late election in Tennessee be annulled. By the middle of January, all the Tennessee delegation at Washington, except Isaac R. Hawkins and Joseph S. Fowler, were for having Tennessee reconstructed by the Federal army. Even Brownlow, who had supported Senter, was now protesting that the election was a fraud.⁵⁸

Tennesseans made two efforts to ward off this proposed calamity. Senter called for state troops to protect the rights of loyal citizens. And the new legislature, controlled by the Democrats and Senter Republicans, adopted a resolution proposed by Emerson Etheridge, which said in part:

That the thanks of the people of the State are eminently due President Grant for his refusal to adopt the counsels of those who have so long resisted our attempts to secure equal and impartial freedom to all the citizens of the State, without regard to color, former political opinions, race, or previous condition.

This resolution, to thank their President for not taking the advice

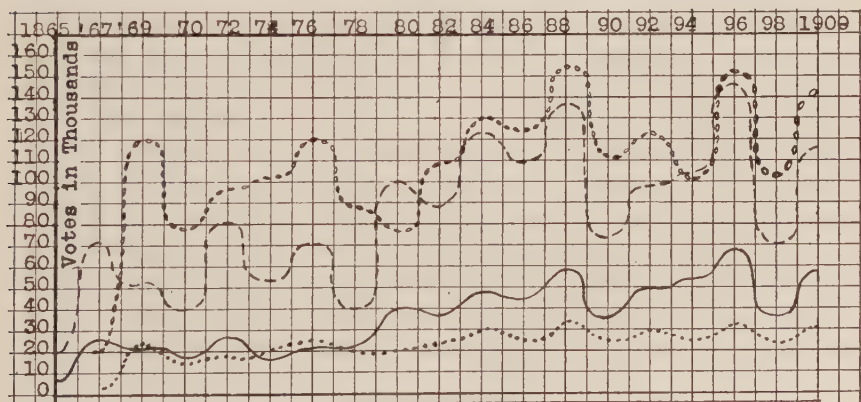
⁵⁶Knoxville *Press and Herald*, August 31, 1869.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, July 8, 1869.

⁵⁸Nashville *Republican Banner*, January 18, 1869; Knoxville *Press and Herald*, January 14, 1870.

of their congressmen, was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.⁵⁹

By this time the Tennessee constitutional convention was in session and was methodically undoing all the Radical laws passed since 1865, except the Negro enfranchisement act. On this question, the convention was especially level-headed. At the time the question was being considered, the Tennessee Republicans at Washington were trying to get the state reconstructed by Congress. No doubt the convention took this Radical attempt into consideration when they decided to retain Negro suffrage. All ex-Confederates were, of course, made eligible to vote. Among the other changes made was the denial to the governor of the right to abrogate *habeas corpus* or to call out the state militia. Also, the payment of any poll tax assessed was made a prerequisite for voting. The work of the convention was more conciliatory than the defeated party expected.⁶⁰ But by the new constitution, the Democrats had regained the ballot and through the ballot the control of the state, while the Republicans were relegated to the position of being a minority party in the state as a whole, although still able to maintain a position of dominance in East Tennessee.



Republican votes in Tennessee elections 1865-1900

The Republican party did not reach its status and become reconciled to a minority position without considerable struggle. In all

⁵⁹*Senate Journal*, 36 General Assembly, 1 Session, 298; *Nashville Republican Banner*, January 14, March 24, 1870.

⁶⁰*Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1870*, p. 8ff.

the elections from 1870 to 1876, inclusive, the party's fortunes steadily declined, even going so far as to include the loss of East Tennessee in two elections. The graph above shows this to be the low ebb of the party in both East Tennessee and the state.⁶¹ This occurrence within the Republican party may best be studied by a brief consideration of the elections throughout the period and by looking for the explanation of the results in the leadership and the party position on issues of those days.

The decline of the Republican party is shown by total figures for the different elections. The figures for 1870 show that both parties had a small poll. The smallness of the vote may be accounted for in several ways. For one thing, 1870 was an off year so far as national offices were concerned. The whole attitude was expressed by the *Knoxville Chronicle* after the election when it lamented thus: "Tennessee feels relieved, that there is not to be another general election until 1872. . . . Not less than seven thousand voters in this Congressional District kept themselves away from the polls on the day of election."⁶² Then, too, many Democrats were still disqualified as voters by the disfranchising act. Also, many Republicans did not vote because of a natural reaction against Republican rule which had been unwholesome and corrupt during the past five years. Many voters in both parties were at that time disqualified and have ever since been disqualified by the poll tax requirement which was inaugurated by the new constitution. Finally, the Republican candidate for governor, William H. Wisener, was not a strong man.

This first comparatively free two-party election shows the relationship between the parties. The Republican party stood only about half as strong as the Democratic party in the state as a whole, but in East Tennessee the Republicans were slightly more numerous than the Democrats. Not only was John C. Brown elected governor by an almost two to one majority, but the legislature became Democratic by an even greater margin. In the state Senate the Democrats had twenty members to five for the Republicans, and in the lower house there were sixty Democrats and fifteen Republicans.⁶³

The next election year, 1872, was a presidential year; hence, the vote was much larger. The proportions for the state as a whole

⁶¹Figures for making the graph were taken from the *Nashville Daily Union*, April 5, 1865; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, August 17, 1867; *Nashville Union and American*, November 12, 1872; *Nashville Republican Banner*, November 16, 1872; after 1872 from the election returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

⁶²*Knoxville Chronicle*, November 27, 1870.

⁶³*Ibid.*, November 15, 1870.

remained about the same. In this election, many Republicans wanted to follow what they called "the passive policy," which meant naming no candidates. This seemed to be a good policy, because the Democrats were so divided that the Republicans, by voting as a unit, might have named the governor. This program was disrupted by A. A. Freeman and Horace Maynard,⁶⁴ Republicans who might have known that their party was in as poor a condition for a state-wide election as the Democrats.

The Republican convention at Nashville was described as the smallest ever held. Thirty counties were not represented, and about one third of the others were represented by proxies. One third of the delegates were Negroes. Houk, speaking for almost all East Tennesseans, insisted that "to name a ticket would divide the Republican party, unite the Democrats, and reduce Grant's vote."⁶⁵ Maynard, who insisted on a ticket, had guessed the situation correctly. He became a candidate for the lower house of Congress from the state at large in an interesting three-way campaign against Andrew Johnson and B. F. Cheatham, and won the election. By winning, Maynard eliminated any possibility of the Republicans working with the Johnson men, as some had suggested. In the gubernatorial campaign the Republican candidate, A. A. Freeman, received 83,869 votes to the Democratic candidate's 97,700.⁶⁶ Although Brown was re-elected governor, his majority was much smaller than in 1870.

The 1874 party conditions prior to the election were almost exactly reversed when compared with 1872. In 1874, the Democrats were united in opposition to the Sumner Civil Rights Bill, while the Republicans were torn between party loyalty and sectional loyalty. The Democrats did not need a division in the Republican ranks in order to win state offices. They took advantage, however, of the disruption to gain local offices in East Tennessee.⁶⁷ When the votes were cast on November 3, 1874, Maynard as candidate for governor had lost East Tennessee to James D. Porter by 19,061 to 21,189, while his party lost the state by 55,847 to 105,061 votes.⁶⁸

Preparatory to the election of 1876, a Republican convention met in Nashville late in May. Three men, Henry S. Foote, Emerson Etheridge, and George Maney dominated it, but no candidate was nominated for the governorship. In organizing the convention,

⁶⁴Nelson's "Scrap Book" (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee).

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, A. S. Colyar to T. A. R. Nelson, October 13, 1872.

⁶⁷Knoxville *Press and Herald*, November 20, 1874.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, May 23, 1874; election returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

the old veteran, Brownlow, was nominated for two positions and lost both times.⁶⁹ After the convention, as well as before, General George Maney announced himself as an independent candidate. Later, Dorsey B. Thomas became an independent candidate and polled far more votes than Maney. Though Thomas had been once counted out of a place in Congress by Brownlow, by now many Republicans preferred him to Maney. Actually, the Republicans were not greatly interested in the state election. Again the color question rose to plague the party when a young Negro lawyer of Knoxville, William T. Yardley, announced himself as the Republican candidate for governor.⁷⁰

In East Tennessee, the section that gave Negro suffrage to Tennessee, Yardley received 196 votes; in the whole state, 2,165. Maney received 4,164 in East Tennessee and 10,436 in the state. Thomas received 22,158 in East Tennessee and 73,695 in the state. James D. Porter, the Democratic candidate, received 26,905 in East Tennessee and 123,740 in the state.⁷¹

Thus, by 1876 the Republicans had reached rock bottom so far as securing results at the polls were concerned. They had traveled a long way from dominating the state government in all its branches to losing their own East Tennessee stronghold.

The Republican leaders had much to do with this decline. The party leaders of the 1870's were East Tennesseans, described by a contemporary newspaper as "controlled by 'ring' managers eager to retain the spoils of office. . . ."⁷² Of most of the leaders in Middle and West Tennessee, little need be said. They attended the party conventions and orated about Republican party principles and distributed the mail at various postoffices, but as for exercising any control on the party, they had no effect. Two of these men were Samuel M. Arnell and W. B. Prosser. The former had been a "Confederate tanner, who was poorer than a church mouse." He served a term in Congress and left the halls with "a lot of stock in the Chattanooga rolling mills" and, according to the *Knoxville Press and Herald*, an opposition partisan paper, he got between \$5,000 and \$9,000 of the school fund.⁷³ He ended his political career when the Democrats regained control of the state. Prosser was given the postmastership at Nashville for a while, but was remov-

⁶⁹*Knoxville Tribune*, May 29, 1876.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, September 17, 1876.

⁷¹Election returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

⁷²*Knoxville Press and Herald*, September 5, 1874.

⁷³*Ibid.*, June 2, 1870. He was a personal friend of Brownlow and also the chief sponsor in the legislature of 1865 of the first law disfranchising ex-Confederates in Tennessee.

ed by Grant. He was heard of last about 1874, when he got up a petition to Congress and secured approximately fifty signers, twenty-four from East Tennessee, to have the state reconstructed by Congress and the Federal army."

The individual leaders of East Tennessee who had most to do with the party, aside from W. G. Brownlow, the original "King bee," were L. C. Houk, Horace Maynard, and Roderick Random Butler. Leonidas Campbell Houk was born in Sevier County on June 8, 1836. He attended school only about three months. While a boy, he learned the trade of cabinet-maker. When about twenty-one or twenty-two, he read law for a few months, passed the bar, and, in 1859, set himself up as an attorney in Clinton, Tennessee. He began his legal activities by collecting debts. When the war began, he ran away to Kentucky, but before long enlisted in an infantry company from Tennessee. He became colonel of his regiment but resigned in 1863 "because of ill health." At the close of the war, he returned to the practice of law. In 1866, he was elected to a circuit judgeship at a time when only Radicals could vote. After the judgeship was abolished, he moved to Knoxville, resumed the practice of law, and took part now and then in editing or running a newspaper. For a short time, he was claim agent for the federal government. Elected to Congress in 1878, he remained there until his death in 1890.⁷⁵

This man's amazing political career most likely could not have happened in any place other than East Tennessee. He entered politics with the Brownlow regime and learned his lessons at Brownlow's feet. He would "bolt every convention he was ever in and run independently against the regular nominee,"⁷⁶ if he felt he could win. The *Chronicle*, a Republican paper of Knoxville, often refused to support him and said that "It is rule or ruin with him."⁷⁷ By 1884, he was commonly referred to as "Boss Houk." Shortly after his death, the Democratic *Knoxville Tribune* described the situation accurately by writing: "With Boss Houk's death, the last of the Republican Kings of East Tennessee is gone."⁷⁸

As a congressman, his career was amazing for its lack of productiveness except for bills for relief, claims, and pensions. In the first session of the 46th Congress, he introduced thirty-three bills asking pensions and claims. As a Republican congressman, under

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, October 15, 1874.

⁷⁵O. P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee From 1833 to 1875* (New York, 1912), 128-36; *Congressional Directory*, 46 Cong.

⁷⁶Chattanooga *Commercial*, quoted in *Press and Herald*, May 13, 1874.

⁷⁷Knoxville *Chronicle*, August 26, 1874.

⁷⁸Knoxville *Tribune*, July 2, 1891.

a Republican administration, he enjoyed the federal government's patronage for Tennessee. More than once he boasted of the men he had made and broken in the second district. He boasted that he was the man to be consulted as to "who does the milking of the Government cow in this district."⁷⁹

His personal life, if newspapers and reports can be believed, was as amazing as his legal and political career. He at one time set out to be a preacher; he sometimes pretended to be a member of a temperance society. Yet it was charged that he resigned his commission in the army not because of ill health, but because of drunkenness. He admitted that he "liked mountain dew." He added that he was no "Joseph" in the "house of Potiphar"; "Let any of his accusers who were . . . cast the first stone."⁸⁰ The *Nashville Banner* probably described him accurately when it said: "[He] is a rough, rather popular fellow, outspoken, rude in speech, blunt in manner, with a ready, native wit, a rough humor, and plentiful powers of rude invective."⁸¹

Horace Maynard, another East Tennessee Republican leader, who stood high both in the state and in the national councils of his party, was something of a contrast to both Brownlow and Houk. He was a "scholar in politics" and was able to influence others by his ability and not by uncouthness or blustering or trickery, elements which he rarely used. Maynard was born in Massachusetts in 1814. A graduate of Amherst College, he came to Tennessee as a teacher at the East Tennessee University. The *New York Herald* described him as being

a peculiar man. He does not, perhaps break any of the commandments outright; but he has a narrowness of charity, a longevity of resentment, an incapacity to look at any question in its broad bearings, a certainty to fix upon some small point and torture it so that it comes to embrace the whole issue. A volume might be composed of all Maynard's littlenesses and petty piques. He is a man without a positive vice and yet without a negative virtue.⁸²

He is supposed to have said: "I esteem the herd of mankind, the human cattle, no better than other cattle, nor quite so good. I hold them in the utmost loathing and contempt."⁸³ Years after the war ended, he opposed any sort of amnesty, opposed any leniency toward the persons engaged in the rebellion. Over and over, he advocated "keeping the leaders of the South out of their former po-

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, August 1, 1882.

⁸⁰*Knoxville Press and Herald*, January 24, 1869.

⁸¹*Nashville Banner*, August 21, 1879.

⁸²Quoted in *ibid.*, November 1, 1874.

⁸³*Knoxville Press and Herald*, September 14, 1872.

sitions of influence.⁸⁴ He earned for himself the appellation of Narragansett warrior, and he looked the part. Supposedly, he was part Indian; he had a "sickly yellow complexion"; dry, long, black, coarse hair; and was tall and lean in body. In demeanor, he was cold, sarcastic, and cruel.⁸⁵

In politics, Maynard was willing to connive for his own welfare. In 1869, he joined with some other Radicals in an attempt to trick Senter into calling a special session of the old legislature so they could have it declare the recent election of legislature and governor null and void. He wrote the letter and secured the signatures of other congressmen from Tennessee, threatening the state with military reconstruction if it adopted the new constitution in 1870. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1874, Maynard tried to carry water on both shoulders. Although he pretended to favor a modified civil rights bill he had voted for the Sumner bill at every opportunity.⁸⁶ Out of his race for the governorship he secured an appointment as minister to the Turkish government. He returned from Turkey to become postmaster-general in Hayes' cabinet. In 1881, he was a candidate for United States senator, but was defeated. From his defeat for the senatorship until his death in 1882, he lived in Knoxville, where he busied himself with minor civic activities.⁸⁷

The Republican politician, who, next to Houk, had most to do with shaping Republican party measures in East Tennessee and the state was Roderick Random Butler of the first district. Butler never came near Maynard in dignity, nor in national party affairs. His "talents" were used solely to manipulate state and district elections. He began his political career in 1859 by being elected to the lower house at Nashville. There he opposed secession. During the war he became a lieutenant colonel in the Union army. After the war, he spent his time serving as judge, legislator, and as a member of the lower house of Congress. Some of his activities were ludicrous.⁸⁸ The *New York Tribune* exposed a letter received in New York under his frank. The letter stated that "A young lady of talent and ability desires the love and correspondence of a nice young gentleman."⁸⁹ One wonders if this namesake of Smollet's novel could have been a practical joker.

Serious charges were brought against him from time to time, such as receiving \$5,000 from some Bristol saloon keeper to fight

⁸⁴*Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., Appendix, 17.

⁸⁵*Knoxville Press and Herald*, February 13, 1870; Temple *op. cit.*, 138-50.

⁸⁶*Knoxville Press and Herald*, September 18, 1874. See also succeeding issues.

⁸⁷Temple, *op. cit.*; *Nashville Banner*, October 6, 1874.

⁸⁸*Knoxville Tribune*, May 21, 1876.

⁸⁹*Knoxville Press and Herald*, March 25, 1870, quoting *New York Tribune*.

the prohibition movement,⁹⁰ of being a party to the state treasurer's absconding with some \$500,000, of selling a cadetship to West Point, and of forgery in connection with pensions. Butler admitted that he sold a cadetship. He was cleared on the charge of forgery. In his strongly Republican district, Butler made fun of the charges and boasted that he could steal a horse each day and still beat his Democratic opponent in the election.⁹¹ The *Daily American* said: "It must be confessed that nominating a man like Butler is not exactly the thing for a party enjoying a monopoly of great moral ideals" to do.⁹² It seems clear that different and better leaders could have made the Republican party a majority party in the years of reconstruction. The opportunities were obvious and plentiful. A glance backward will bring them into relief. In 1871, A. A. Freeman wrote to L. C. Houk:

You are right as to the future of the Republican party in Tennessee. The Democratic party is dead and it must be buried. The elements of success are all within our reach; there are thousands of honest men in Tennessee who were never Democrats at heart, men who are Conservatives in their feeling and have been driven to act with that party by what was regarded as the proscriptive policy of our party.⁹³

Republican leadership alone defeated such hopes as Freeman here expressed.

The Nashville *Republican Banner*, probably the most influential paper in the state, was in 1870 in a position to be won over to an enlightened and honest, liberal Republican party. It quoted with approval the Lebanon *Herald*, which was strongly opposing the reorganization of the "old pre-war Democratic party."⁹⁴ In the three-way congressional campaign in 1872, the *Banner* supported Andrew Johnson instead of B. F. Cheatham, the regular Democratic nominee. It urged the "members of the Legislature to rise above party issues and work for the state."⁹⁵ In 1874, the Knoxville *Chronicle*, a rabid Republican paper, pointed an accusing finger at the *Banner* and said:

About a year ago, [the *Banner*] was a pretty good radical paper. It winked very cunningly towards the Republicans and its editors and proprietors gave it out privately that their sympathies for Radicalism were very marked and strong; in fact, were stronger than for Democracy. That was when it proclaimed the latter dead.⁹⁶

The *Chronicle*, with its considerable influence, especially in

⁹⁰Knoxville *Journal*, September 9, 1887.

⁹¹Knoxville *Tribune*, October 3, 1890.

⁹²Knoxville *Chronicle*, November 12, 1870.

⁹³*Ibid.*, December 27, 1871.

⁹⁴Nashville *Banner*, July 22, 1870.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, November 3, 12, 1872.

⁹⁶Knoxville *Chronicle*, May 29, 1874.

East Tennessee, saw the possibilities of building the Republican party into a majority party. It pleaded with Johnson men, urging: The truly Conservative men of Tennessee have it in their power to rescue the commonwealth from the unworthy hands that have controlled it for two years past. What is there now to longer divide us? Proscribed and driven from the party you placed in power, ostracized because of your devotion to the Union, trampled upon by ex-confederates who were preferred not because of fitness for office, but because of their military record you can not longer afford to permit them to prosecute their unjust war without hindrance.⁹⁷

Johnson Democrats seemed inclined towards the Republicans, for they merely condemned the leadership of the Republican party and not the party.

Others, too, thought the Democratic party was dead in 1872. The *Chattanooga Times* wrote: "The [Democratic] party is on the wane; it won't be able to survive this election."⁹⁸ W. J. Hill wrote: "Johnson has killed the old secession, Cheatham Democracy, here, [Pulaski]. [I] have not heard three men speak of Cheatham since the election. Can we not unite in the next canvass, the Union Johnson Democrats, the old line Union Whigs, like yourself, and the Republicans, and forever control the state?"⁹⁹ Even Brownlow at Washington was for a minute or two conciliatory. He said he "hoped for some alliance between Johnson men and the Republicans. Andy is a patriot. Republicans feel very kind toward him. He has done a great work . . . he is true to the Union and the Nation."

Perhaps the Democrats deserve some party punishment if it could be administered. They reasoned that, since the Republicans had proscribed Democrats when they were running the government, now the latter should "get even" and if possible so "re-district the state" that during the next ten years no Republican could be elected to the state legislature. "The law of retribution is right," one Democrat declared.¹⁰¹

The Republicans practically refused to take advantage of the situation. The *Chronicle* gloated over the Johnson-Cheatham de-

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, November 8, 1872.

⁹⁸*Chattanooga Times*, November 12, 1872.

⁹⁹J. W. Hill to T. A. R. Nelson, February 5, 1873, T. A. R. Nelson Papers (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee).

¹⁰⁰*Knoxville Chronicle*, July 1, 1875, quoting *Nashville Daily American*. Brownlow was of course speaking for himself and what he felt was the feeling of other Tennessee Republicans.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, March 22, 1872. The *Knoxville Press and Herald* supported the re-districting bill and pointed out that East Tennessee "enjoyed reduced representation" in the legislature because the East Tennessee Republicans had given the vote to Negroes. With the Negroes of the state voting, Shelby County could claim two senators instead of one—and could claim seven representatives instead of three as it had had before the "blessing of Negro suffrage had been forced on the state." See *Knoxville Press and Herald*, editorials, first half of March, 1872.

feat by Maynard. As usual, it was left for Brownlow to do the most damage. He boasted that "Now we have a loyal majority in Tennessee [due to the] able, just, and firm administration of President Grant. . . . The vigor and ability with which Maynard met Andrew Johnson and . . . vindicated the principles of the Republican party . . . have never been equaled in any canvass in Tennessee."¹⁰²

Due to boastfulness on the part of Republican leaders and to a lack of harmony in their party the Republicans could not take advantage of the broken Democratic party. The *Banner*, in describing party situations in Tennessee in 1874, showed that the Republican party is divided and disorganized by personal greed and ambition—a feud in Nashville between [Horace H.] Harrison and Prosser—in the first district between Butler and Judge E. E. Gillenwaters, and in the second district between Houk and Montgomery Thornburgh, also a row between Brownlow and P. Mason Bartlett [president of Maryville College] over Negro equality.¹⁰³

In 1874 all tendencies resembling party harmony were destroyed when the Civil Rights Bill struck Tennessee Republicans like a bolt of lightning. Brownlow, Houk, and Butler, the main lights of East Tennessee Republicanism, all opposed this party measure. The *Chronicle* decided to break with these party cohorts and support Horace Maynard, the regular Republican nominee for the governorship.¹⁰⁴

The party at first tried to confuse the issue by claiming that the Negroes did not favor the bill in its entirety. A group of Blount County Negroes, however, met, endorsed the bill, school clause and all, and called all Republicans who opposed the bill "Designing demagogues."¹⁰⁵ A Negro convention at Nashville "assaulted" Brownlow because of his stand against the bill.¹⁰⁶ Other Negroes demanded to know where Brownlow and the Republican party would be without their aid, and a young Negro lawyer in Knoxville became the spokesman for all by demanding that the Republican party recognize Negro rights.¹⁰⁷ Much of the whole story was told by the *Chronicle* when commenting on the changed attitude of the *Nashville Republican Banner*:

About a year ago it [the *Banner*] was a pretty good radical paper . . . Now it is anxious to get back into the fold . . . It makes the civil rights bill

¹⁰²Knoxville *Chronicle*, November 10, 1872.

¹⁰³Nashville *Republican Banner*, July 14, 1874.

¹⁰⁴Knoxville *Chronicle*, October 6, 1874. This paper was successor of the *Whig* and almost as much of a Brownlow sheet as the *Whig* had been. Brownlow became senior editor of the *Chronicle* upon retiring from the Senate in 1875.

¹⁰⁵Nashville *Republican Banner*, April 19, 1874; Knoxville *Chronicle*, May 21, 1874.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, May 13, 1874.

¹⁰⁷Knoxville *Press and Herald*, January 14, 1874.

the pretext and is publishing more incendiary, meaner spirited articles on the subject than any paper in the South. . . . Its course is simply outrageous. The press of the South is nearer a unit against the civil rights bill than it ever has been on any subject. . . .¹⁰⁸

The *Chronicle* with all its staunch Republicanism did not advocate the bill, giving as an excuse that "it would incite race prejudice"; it spent its time ranting against other papers for writing against the bill.

The stand of Republicans on the Civil Rights Bill shows how party loyalty had to be placed before state or sectional interest. Brownlow knew that on such a question a choice would have to be made between the interest of East Tennessee and the Republican party, for, said he,

I tell the Republicans of all colors in Middle and West Tennessee that under no conceivable circumstances will East Tennessee Republicans support any man for any office who favors mixed schools. . . . The whole fabric of education in Tennessee will fall if the bill is passed. It is the sum of villainy and the quintessence of abominations.¹⁰⁹

When the Republicans held their convention in Chattanooga they nominated Horace Maynard for the governorship because he was the only man of standing who would make the race without repudiating the state and the national Republican party's stand on civil rights. The platform adopted at this convention was ambiguous, saying in part:

We are in favor of the full and equal enjoyment of accommodations, advantages, rights and privileges by all citizens and other persons within the jurisdiction of United States, without regard to race, creed or color, and at the same time we deem it unnecessary and unwise to attempt by Congressional legislation or otherwise, to compel, as between such races, creeds or colors, the joint exercise of such accommodations, advantages, rights or privileges. . . .¹¹⁰

In the campaign, Maynard tried to maintain that he was not for the bill without some changes. The Democratic papers answered this by publishing time after time the record of his votes in Congress on the bill. The *Chronicle*, the leading Republican paper, supported Maynard and the meaningless platform but asked the members of Congress "who read the *Chronicle*" to give their attention "to the inexpediency of legislation so far in advance of public sentiment. . . ."¹¹¹

The disappointing awakening came to the East Tennessee Republicans on August 7, when the local election was held. The civil rights issue reached down even to the race for constables. The

¹⁰⁸Knoxville *Chronicle*, May 29, 1874.

¹⁰⁹Knoxville *Press and Herald*, February 14, 1874.

¹¹⁰Knoxville *Chronicle*, September 17, 1874.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, May 28, 1874.

Chronicle began its election news by saying that "the Republicans won two places in yesterday's election [in Knox County] by about three hundred votes each," and continued:

The result of yesterday's election, which we give elsewhere, is as complete a surprise to the Democracy as it is to us. None of their most sanguine friends, figuring upon the votes by districts, hoped to do more than greatly reduce our majority of two years ago. But by a revolution almost unprecedented in the history of the country we report this morning the defeat of Messrs. Gossett, McGuffey, Harris, Murphy, and probably Maloney.

It takes but few words to explain the defeat. The excitement over the Civil Rights Bill. . . .¹¹²

The Civil Rights Bill had indeed caused excitement, and many Southern Republicans as well as all Democrats were determined that the party advocating it should be defeated.

Finally, on November 3, 1874, as has been pointed out, the Republicans lost both East Tennessee and the state, the latter by an almost two to one vote. The low ebb of the party was shown by a story circulated in Washington and Tennessee in 1875, that Senator Brownlow had voted the Democratic ticket in a recent election in Knoxville. His son, John B. Brownlow, explained: "The Republican party of Knoxville in a late municipal election had no candidate for mayor, because of its fearful demoralization [by] 'Summer's legacy', and the almost universal defeat of the party last November. . . ."¹¹³ Henceforth, the Republicans of East Tennessee and the South were aware that the party could gain nothing by advocating Negro equality. The question was how long would this policy be forced on Republicans in the South by the party generally. The *Daily American* in 1876 argued that due to pressure from outside the South the Republicans of the South were "united against the intelligence and the best interests of the South."¹¹⁴ This indeed seemed to have been the case, for East Tennessee Republicans had learned their lesson in 1874; but the national Republican platform of 1876 declared for equal "political, civic, and public rights" and pledged the Republicans to enforce such rights.¹¹⁵ By this pledge, which was good politics for the Republican party in the North, the Negro equality question was placed on the doorsteps of Southern Republicans. This burden was carried to its logical extremity when a Negro, William T. Yardley, a member of the Republican

¹¹²*Ibid.*, August 7, 1874. These men might be more fully identified by their initials and the offices for which they were running: V. F. Gossett, candidate for sheriff; C. D. McGuffey, for attorney-general; J. M. Harris, for county court clerk; J. M. Murphy, for tax collector; G. L. Maloney, for criminal court clerk.

¹¹³Knoxville *Chronicle*, February 2, 1875.

¹¹⁴Nashville *Daily American*, August 19, 1867, to November, ff.

¹¹⁵Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (New York, 1904), I, 370.

executive committee, became a candidate for governor, and the extremity was tortured when the Democratic candidate "courteously invited him [Yardley] to meet him on the stump and discuss the issues of the day."¹¹⁶ It is of little wonder that the aged Brownlow would lament that many "regard the prospect of a Republican success in November as hopeless."

Thus, largely because of the color question, the Republican party reached rock bottom in 1874 and floundered around under pressure of that same question for two or three years. Then, as other issues came to the fore, it recovered and has since maintained its majority in East Tennessee, but has been as consistently the minority party in the state.

¹¹⁶Nashville *Daily American*, September 5, 1876.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO
TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited By

D. C. CORBITT AND ROBERTA CORBITT*

(Continued from *The East Tennessee Historical Society's*

Publications, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13)

VI—March, 1788—May, 1788

[Translation]

ZÉSPEDES TO VALDÉS, ST. AUGUSTINE, MARCH 24, 1788¹

Number 7

Most Excellent Sir

The contents of the Communication of the mestizo Mr. McGillivray,² which is the motive of this representation, seemed to me of such serious importance in the present critical state of Indian and American affairs, that, having received it at a time when there was a Vessel in this Port ready to sail for Havana, I decided to send it, without the loss of an instant, to my immediate Superior, Captain General Don José de Ezpeleta, because of the reasons expressed in confidential representation number 6 in which it is enclosed, and which I copy now for Your Excellency under Document number 1: two translations of the two letters of the said Mestizo, to which number 1 refers and immediately following it the letter of the mestizo himself to the Governor of New Orleans³: the reply of the latter and following it my reply to both the letters of the Mestizo: With number 3 copies of the letters which passed between me and the Commandant of the Fort at St. Marks, which are cited in my confidential representation number 6 already mentioned: And finally under number 4, I sent Your Excellency translations of the Talks that passed between the southern and northern Indians at the time of the formation of a general confederation among them against the usurpations of the Americans: And likewise a translation of an Extract⁴ from the letter with which McGillivray sent the enclosed Talks to a friend of his in the Bahamas.

*For the editor's introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A. G. I., P. C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

¹A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17.

²McGillivray to Zéspedes, January 6, 1788. Printed in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 165-66. Under orders from Spain, Miro stopped supplying the Indians with munitions late in 1787. McGillivray heard of it early in 1788 and hurriedly wrote the letter referred to, complaining about the failure of the Spaniards to supply ammunition for the war against Cumberland and Georgia. He also complained about the seizure of a ship-load of goods at St. Marks, that had been sent from New Providence to supply Panton's store. McGillivray praised Captain Luis de Bertucat, the commandant of St. Marks, who had been removed because of a quarrel with "a worthless drunken Guardie Magazin."

³This letter, dated January 10, 1788, is printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 166-67.

The fact that McGillivray sent the Talks to Providence (although I wish to believe his Chief aim was to get them printed to frighten the Americans), contenting himself with simply mentioning to the Governor of New Orleans an event of such importance as is, in reality, the said confederation, and without the matter's having been explained to me in any way whatsoever, caused me, I confess, some surprise, and decided me to investigate the origins and consequences of it; so I have discovered that it had its origin in the Policy of the Court of London, with the idea of taking advantage, in time, of the contents of article 8 of the provisional adjustment made in Paris with its Colonies, November 30, 1783, guilefully appropriating by it a right to the navigation of the Mississippi, with as little foundation and propriety as it had to concede the same right to the Americans by Article 2 of the treaty itself.

This conjecture is corroborated by England's having, by the said settlement, reserved Dominion over half of all the great Lakes of North America (Specified in article 2), and also of the Rivers and straits joining them, up to the Lake of the Woods inclusive, which lies more or less on the forty-ninth parallel North Latitude, and the seventy-eighth Longitude west of Ferro Island;⁴ Consequently some degrees above the Waters of the said River which have up to now (with public knowledge) been explored. To this may be added the retention by the British on various pretexts, contrary to the stipulations with the United States, of some Forts on the said Lakes.

It is also worthy of consideration that the people who are coming down toward the Ohio River and to the lands back of the territory already settled when the Colonies were recognized as independent, are, for the most part, Americans devoted to the expelled English government, or are recent immigrants from Europe without any particular attachment to the United States or reasons for being attached. This is clearly shown in the conversations and writings of the new immigrants, in which the Decrees, dispositions, and authority of Congress are openly ridiculed. Great Britain sees it, knows it, and laughs about it in silence now; Not because she is flattered by the hope that the Settlers on the banks of the Ohio will place themselves under her direct Dominion (a thing that will never happen), But because she premeditates, and foresees that those new settlements, radically opposed to the toleration of the laws, and imposts, with which the present Congress wants to load them, and the new constitution that was proposed on September 17 of last year by the general convention of the united States in Philadelphia, which (if ratified) it will try to force on them, will open a new and spacious area for the consumption of goods of English Manufacture, through the facility with which great Britain will be able to supply them every article of necessity or luxury from Canada, by way of the St. Lawrence River and the aforesaid Lakes, whose nearness, particularly that of Erie, to the sources of the Ohio, and of Lake Michigan to those of the Illinois River, not only makes it practicable but probable: the scarcity of Factories in the united States being also notorious, and the vast distance between the American Seaboard on the Atlantic Ocean and the Banks of the Ohio River, and even the Tennessee, which communicates with it, the Canadian merchant will always

⁴A translation back to English is printed below.

⁵The island of Ferro (or Hierro) in the Canary Islands from which longitude was formerly reckoned.

have the advantage over the American, in the superior quality of his goods, and in the convenience of his prices; From all of which it will necessarily follow that the influence of the British nation, the more it becomes known and necessary to the new Settlements, will increase over that of the united States from day to day. To maintain and promote this advantage, it is necessary that England try (and she is trying, although secretly, with all earnestness) to hold the affection of the Indians, in order to use them occasionally (as she used them, although without avail, in the last War) like well-trained Bulldogs, setting them on and calling them off at will.

It is not to be supposed that a single point of what has been stated has escaped or will escape the discernment of Congress; But this body, inwardly persuaded of its lack of weight and authority, can emit only vain lamentations, not having in its hands the power to check this said much-regretted immigration of great numbers of People who are premeditatedly resolved to despise its commands and to refuse to pay their quota of the demands of that Senate. It is to be believed that the desire to remedy this great evil has been the most powerful cause of the aforesaid Philadelphia convention, although this has not been stated, and for this single reason I believe that Congress disapproves of the ambitious views of its insubordinate Citizens toward our possessions.

Neither is there any indication that the conspiracy, which is treated in my confidential representations numbers 2 and 4 of November 21 of last year and January 16^a of this year, is promoted, at least directly, by the court of London. It can rather be considered as the mere premature production of the laziness and coveteousness of needy adventurers, who, knowing no other Law or Government than those dictated by their own caprice, have permitted themselves the hallucination, as erroneous as ridiculous (but which, without doubt, leads them), that in the Hispanic-American Dominions, Gold and Silver are to be found by handfuls by only scratching the Earth. And for that reason they are capable of trying anything, however foolish or extravagant it may be, to realize their absurd dreams.

Taking for granted that the present Congress is working in good faith, and that the British government does not in any way assist the Conspiracy mentioned, neither the one nor the other will fail to observe the results, in order to take advantage of them, as it may suit their respective interests. Both, however much they may dissimulate, covet the navigation of the Mississippi as do the conspirators, and wonder how they can get control of it by legal or illegal means, without injury to themselves; So that it may be safely inferred that there are three different pretenders to the said navigation: To wit: England, the united States, and the Adventurers.

The political views of the first two are, it is to be presumed, opposed, and those of the last (the Adventurers) incline toward either the English or the Americans, according to the feelings of each individual; Although it is probable that they will form an independent nation among themselves before many years, under the protection of the former. The attachment of the Indians, which the Canadian Government has known how to hold, will contribute not a little to its formation, to which the said general confederation will have added a new degree of perfection, directed toward curbing the evident usurpations that the State of Georgia and the other states intend to make of the Indian Lands, since it is evident by the talks of the Northern

^aFor the letter of January 16 see *Publications* No. 13, pp. 106-08.

as well as those of the Southern Indians (notwithstanding the latter say they are pleased with the protection of His Majesty) that all, not excepting McGillivray, look with predilection toward the English as their ancient parents.

By no means do I wish to say, nor do I think, that McGillivray works in bad faith, nor that he is informed of the indicated designs of the Court of London beyond what his own sagacity tells him, nor do I believe that Panton, Leslie and Company know of them; But the fidelity I owe to the King moves me to say, that the former and the latter, without perhaps being aware of it themselves, or looking beyond their own private interests, unwittingly sustain the British influence among the Southern Indians. Nevertheless, under the obligations of that same fidelity, I should, and I can, assure you, that to cut loose from McGillivray at the present time, or to throw out Panton, Leslie and Company (to do one is to do the other) will be to lose at one stroke all that we have gained with the Indians, and to hand them over irretrievably to the Americans, whose congress, in view of an event so much desired (especially if it be granted the powers and jurisdiction proposed in the recent Convention at Philadelphia) will use them first to establish Laws for the Inhabitants of the Ohio valley, and afterward to promote the projects that, however rash or unjust they may be, will assist the American people in general to get control of the navigation of the Mississippi, and of all of the Rivers, especially the Missouri, that flow into it on both Sides. This ambitious project of the Americans is so manifest that I am persuaded that possibly the good faith with which the present Congress tries to oppose its execution, springs rather from the knowledge it has of its own weakness for an enterprise so difficult, than from a truly laudable repugnance to perpetrating a deed so iniquitous, as will soon be proved, if it happens (which God forbid), that the united States make friends and ally themselves with the Indians.

Therefore, respecting the rising influence of Britain, and that which McGillivray and the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company may contribute toward it, I should state that from the beginning I have had some misgivings about the matter, although vague, and I have always said the same to the members of the Company, and still say without hesitation, that there should be a Spanish member of the said firm. Being of this mind, I formally proposed the matter in the Document that is cited in my preferred representation [*representación de preferencia*] number 184 of March 24 of last year, and since then in my confidential communication number 14 of the 22nd of the same month and year, in which I stated to His Excellency, the predecessor of Your Excellency, all that it meant in my humble opinion for McGillivray to have at his side white assistants of ability and education. And as to the close connection that exists between the said firm and the Mestizo, it is explained in several of my representations to the Marqués de Sonora and the Conde de Gálvez; Especially in the confidential representation number 16 of March 20 of last year, and another not confidential number 21 of August 16, 1784, enclosed to the said Marqués under number 86 on June 20, 1785.⁷ All that I stated in those communications was based only on my misgivings, but now the aforesaid general confederation, the Talks of the

⁷See Caughey, *op. cit.*, 79, note 28, and Corbitt, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," in *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1937), 79, for comments on these letters.

Indians which preceded it, and the extract of the letter with which McGillivray sent these to Providence, have converted it into a certainty that the Indian nations are in general dominated by British influence; An evil which seems to demand a quick and efficacious, But at the same time tactful remedy, so as not to lose at one stroke the ground we have gained with the neighboring Indians, as we undoubtedly should by working precipitately.

It has been stated above that there are three different parties with poorly founded claims to the navigation of the Mississippi, which justly and exclusively belongs to Spain; this right also being supported by His Majesty's actual possession of the entire length of the said River: and as the Indians may be useful to defend this just claim, they will be equally prejudicial to it if united with either of these unlawful claimants. Of these three, evidently the most audacious and violent, and the one which will be weakest, and the first to assert itself, is the aforesaid adventurers: But it is possible that these, without the help of one of the other two, although they will not fail to molest, will make little impression. It is also presumable, that in case one of the two supports them, the other will oppose, working for its own particular ends rather than in favor of ours.

After the adventurers, the most covetous is the united States, although without the Indians which the English will undoubtedly not let go, it is to be believed that they will not begin anything, at least directly, until they have more strength than is given them by their present misgoverned debility, and are sure of the obedience and concurrence of the inhabitants of the Ohio valley.

The third claimant, and undoubtedly, by its wealth, its Factories, its commerce, its activity, its Navy, its influence over the Indians, and by the partisans it is acquiring, and will acquire, among the new settlers to the back of the old Colonies—the most powerful and formidable—is England. With a slower but surer policy it secretly meditates the accomplishment of the project which it previously attributed to France; that of wishing, when she was master of Canada and Louisiana, to use them [the Indians] to take the immense territories back of the British Colonies, to enclose and narrow them down, and in the end to take all of the vast continent of North America.

I openly confess that the aforesaid idea that I have formed of the designs of the Cabinet of London might be thought chimerical if it were not made credible by reflection about what an ambitious and haughty nation like England is capable of doing to get revenge on the Americans, whom in her heart she considers her revolted Vassals, and to compensate herself in some way for what the victorious Arms of His Majesty took from her in the last War; Not a little being contributed by the constancy with which she flatters herself that in addition to the Indians she has numerous partisans, not only among the Settlements on the Ohio, but in the united States themselves.

From all that has been said it is evident that the policy of England, before manifesting her designs on the Mississippi, will be to try to encourage the present opposition, it might be called inveterate hate, that the greater part of the Indians have toward the Americans; Being careful at the same time to incline the Savages to favor the recent emigrants, until she is sure of having them perfectly devoted to her, and absolutely turned aside from any relationship with the united States. This interval, which it is very probable will be several, perhaps many years, it seems, in my humble opinion, could

be used by the Crown to strengthen and prepare its Frontiers in these regions against any assault, at the same time cultivating and consolidating the attachment of these southern Indians which has been partly won. To this end it is necessary for us to give them a continuous exchange of their Peltries for the Articles (these are for the most part found specified in the aforesaid number 21 of August 16, 1784)* which long use has made indispensable to them, without which facility they will undoubtedly turn from us, although it be to throw themselves into the arms of the united States, or to fraternize with the adventurers, already half Savage in their manner of living, as are in general the inhabitants of the interior of the old Colonies, between whom and those of the Seaports, there has long been a deep rooted antagonism which has increased rather than diminished since independence.

Here may be offered the observation that with the said Indian Trade being carried on by the English firm, there remains the inconvenience that it will continue to advance the influence of the Cabinet of London over the Savages; an evil, undoubtedly, against which it is best, from this moment, to be on guard, applying a remedy as soon as possible. That which appears easiest and most efficacious is that proposed in the summary of a Regulation, which is found in the aforesaid number 184, to add a Spanish Member, and Spanish employees to the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company; of the particulars therein expressed, one of the requirements being that the said Member understand English, in order that he may more easily acquaint himself with the nature of the Indian Trade and in order to express himself directly to McGillivray, who, besides having a part in the profits of the said firm as is well known, is, in reality, the Soul, the resource, and the absolute director of all operations of the Talapuche or Creek nation, the most numerous and Warlike of the Indians, and not without influence over the Choctaws and Chickasaws, these three nations being the ones nearest these Provinces.

It will be equally well to send occasionally some Spanish subjects of military rank, talent, and versatile genius, as I have indicated in my already cited confidential representation number 15, to reside among the Indians themselves, with secret orders to watch the movements of McGillivray and some Englishmen who are there, as well as some Americans, and to be known as protectors (these the British called Superintendents or Commissaries) of the interests of the Indians, using all the means permitted by Religion to be well liked by them: Working in everything in the most perfect good faith and disinterestedness, without ever promising the Indians anything they are not sure they can do; nor permitting the Trading Company, be it Spanish or English, or any inferior trader to exceed the prices of the Goods that have been agreed upon with the Indians; And repressing any extortion, or improper procedure by the lower class Spaniards that have been introduced, and that it would be well to continue introducing, into the Indian lands. To this intercourse of their respective Vassals with the Indians, and consequent knowledge of their language and character, previously the French, and in imitation of them, the English, owed the place they won, and the influence they acquired over that people, contributing not a little to it the prudent, and by no means blind zeal of the French Missionaries, who applied them-

*According to Caughey, *op. cit.*, 79, note 28, this letter is in the A. G. I., Audencia of Santo Domingo, 2543. The list of Indian goods mentioned was probably similar to that prepared by Panton in 1790. Printed in Corbitt, *op. cit.*, *Ga. Hist. Quar.* XXI, No. 3 (September, 1937), 275-78.

selves to learn the language of the Savages, and to predispose them to receive the truths of the Holy faith, by teaching and impressing on them the joys that result from the observance of the benign rules of civilized society. Far from restricting their residence to the fortified Towns, from the beginning they scattered themselves, not without risk, among the Indian Towns, dedicating their Apostolic labors to the Glory of God and, at the same time, to the service of the State; But in truth with more fruit for the latter than for the former, For experience has shown that the harvest of the most indefatigable Missionaries has been very short in this Vineyard of the Lord. The Indian, once an adult, however much these things which cannot be touched with the hands are explained to him, remains a savage; So that before being converted he should be civilized. This civilization the French and English tried with some results, teaching the Indian the private ownership of property, and the use of several European articles, in order to supply themselves with which, the Savages work very hard to gather peltries. It is impossible for any nation that does not furnish them the opportunity to exchange these for what they need (Arms and Munitions are for them of prime necessity) to hold their attachment, and the Power that provides these for them with most abundance and convenience will always be the one preferred. This I know from the experience I have had with the Indians in the nearly four years that I have dealt with them near at hand, and from the opportunity I had during seven others when, with His Majesty's approval, I was Secretary to Don Francisco Cagigal de la Vega,⁹ the Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies and Captain General of the Island of Cuba, to inform myself about the Indian affairs of East Florida, and in the year 1761, about those [Indians] of Pensacola, having gone as Captain of Grenadiers, commanding two Companies, to the aid of that City against an advance of the Savages. I learned on the occasion mentioned that the French in West Florida, and the English in East Florida, traveled about trading freely and unmolested, the former in the vicinity of Pensacola, and the latter around this Fort: So much that it is well known that there was an English Store established on the St. Johns River a short distance from this City (the same that today is occupied by the Firm of Panton, Leslie and Company) while our traders in both cities were absolutely backed into a corner, and reduced to a narrow piece of land covered by their Artillery: And the same thing will happen again if the said practice of the French and English is not adopted. With it, it is to be expected that little by little (it cannot be done at one stroke) the English influence among the southern Indians will diminish, and ours will increase until finally the day will come when we can get rid of Panton, Leslie and Company, and later of all British goods. In the meantime, by paying attention to encouraging the Settlement of these Provinces, there will be developed in them a group of Inhabitants who are interested in, and consequently disposed to defend them, along with their Homes and Plantations that they will owe to the Royal munificence, against any aggressors.

By using the indicated means from now on, and others more appropriate, and by providing the Indians opportunely with Arms and Munitions for their Hunts, and for self-defense against any unjust invader if necessary (it is noteworthy that the act of the Assembly, which is enclosed in my confidential

⁹Cagigal was captain general of Cuba from 1747 to 1760. In the latter year he became viceroy of New Spain.

representation number 3 of January 10 last, declares that the Creeks constitute part of the State of Georgia by virtue of the aforesaid provisional treaty with England), we will have in them immediately an important barrier, be it against Adventurers or Americans, and also later (especially if a Peace is effected between the said Creeks and Georgia through the mediation and guarantee of Spain) against the English themselves, when they lift the veil (by all means I consider the day remote) with which they try to cover their present sordid machinations, which, it is to be presumed they can never put into practice, if the Indians are effectively separated from them.

It is well to add here, that in addition to the Firm of Pantón, Leslie and Company, established here with Stores on the St. Johns River, at St. Marks and Pensacola, there is another that I understand is English (to wit, that of Mather),¹⁰ which carries on the Indian Trade in Mobile and New Orleans. Between these two Firms it is possible that there is some jealousy, for the reasons I explained in my already cited confidential representation number 16; But I also believe that the said jealousy works rather to the benefit than to the injury of the State; For in the knowledge that one firm does not seem sufficient, nor is it well to give one the whole Indian trade, it is thought necessary that there should be one to trade exclusively with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, who are near Louisiana, and another to trade, also exclusively, with the Creek Indians, who are confined to the two Floridas; the special obligation of the Governors of the said Provinces, and the particular duty of the indicated protectors, being to keep an exact equality between the prices of the two firms, even when these become purely Spanish.

Said equality should be observed not only by the Principals of both Firms, but also by the Traders dependent on them who may go with goods to the Indian Towns. A contrary practice will without fail cause the nation or town that has the most unfavorable prices to become disgusted and angry (The Indians do not understand the liberty, which is common among European Merchants, of raising or lowering the prices of their Goods at will, or according to the first cost), and in order to avoid such an inconvenience, the prudence of the Governor of New Orleans has caused him to order, as is shown by his reply to McGillivray, that the said English Merchant Mather supply the goods in Mobile at the same prices that Pantón sells at in Pensacola. The place that the defunct William Davenport held among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and the influence that since then the American Captain Bouchier has been able to acquire over the same People, may perhaps be attributed to the difference that used to exist between the prices of the goods of the two trading Companies.

In order that the equality of prices may be observed with the most rigorous exactitude, no person should be allowed to trade or Barter with Indians at any time or under any pretext whatsoever, who is not an employee of, or authorized by, one of the two Companies in their respective districts, and does not have a license signed by the respective Governor. The reasons for this exclusion, and the many things that make it important for us to get along well with the Savages, are found detailed in my above mentioned representation number 21, a third copy having been sent by the confidential

¹⁰Mather and Strother. This company could not please the Indians and in 1788 its trade was given to Pantón, Leslie & Co. See Miro to Sonora (Confidential No. 10), June 1, 1787, *Publications*, No. 12, pp. 78-79.

route under number 86, and for the same reason the best service of the King requires that the Governors and Protectors referred to persist, not only now, but at all times, even when there is peace, or when the usurping designs of the said unlawful pretenders are repressed, in watching with incessant care that our Merchants exchange their goods for Peltries on terms as moderate as our ambitious neighbors, avoiding the loading of that Trade with duties that make this impossible: For as has been said above, the Indians will inevitably join the nation that supplies their necessities with greatest abundance and convenience.

I know, Most Excellent Sir, that the prolixity of this representation may be classified as extraordinary; But with the most profound humility I assure Your Excellency that it has not been possible for me to explain myself more concisely on matters that in my humble opinion are of greatest importance to the royal service. In it I have tried to pour out my thoughts about the present and future state of Indian affairs, About the Mestizo McGillivray, and about the English Trading Companies, with the most respectful frankness and honest zeal; And also the ideas I have formed about the ambitious political views, patent or hidden, of Great Britain, the united States, and the Conspiring adventurers. With perfect submission to the superior wisdom of Your Excellency I have stated the remedies that seem to me most adaptable, without the vain illusion that I have conjectured rightly in anything except in my desires, which certainly aim at the exact fulfillment of my obligation. The great discernment of Your Excellency will give my well-meant endeavors the value they merit, if they merit any, in order that the King, informed about everything by Your Excellency, may decide what is his royal pleasure.

With this same number, date and secrecy I send all that I have stated to my immediate Superior, Captain General Don Joseph de Ezpeleta, except what is contained in the aforesaid document number 1, which I sent him by the last Mail under confidential representation number 6

Duplicate

His Excellency Balio Fray Don Antonio Valdés.

Vizente Manuel de Zéspedes

[Translation]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MCGILLIVRAY TO A PERSON IN
NEW PROVIDENCE, LITTLE TALASSIE, JUNE 30, 1787
(ENCLOSURE)¹¹

The affairs between us and our Neighbors (The Spaniards)¹² toward the rising Sun remain, more or less, on the same Footing as when I wrote

¹¹Enclosed in Zéspedes to Valdes, March 24, 1788. A Spanish translations of this extract is in A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17 (transcript in the McClung Collection). There is a note at the beginning that says: "Corresponds to confidential representation number 7 (Signed by Zéspedes of St. Augustine, March 24, 1788 to Valdes) Copy of the Translation of an Extract of a Letter printed in the Gazette of the Bahama Islands October 20, 1787 and written by the Mestizo Indian Mr. Alexander McGillivray, to an unknown person in the said Islands." Caghey, *op. cit.*, 153, note 96, says there is a Spanish translation of this letter in Archivo Historico Nacional, Estado, 3901. All efforts to locate the original of this letter in English have been unavailing.

¹²The statement in parentheses is an explanatory note by the person that translated the letter into Spanish. It is a mistake, however. "The Americans," or "the Georgians," would have given McGillivray's meaning. All other parenthetical statements in this letter are by the same translator.

You last January—The deceitful and insolent conduct of the Georgians toward this nation, respecting our requests for an early and effective satisfaction for their usurpation of our Hunting Grounds caused a General murmur, and Obligated me to adopt energetic measures seriously in order to obtain from them by force what could not be expected by Justice—While we were of the same mind, there arrived among us a Certain Mr. White,¹³ a gentleman appointed by the American Congress to ascertain the nature and Origin of the disagreements that have come between this nation and Georgia, and to effect, if possible, a friendly settlement of them—In an Assembly of the Chiefs of the lower Creeks, White explained the nature of the matter that had motivated his Commission and, on the part of the Honorable Body that Commissioned him, made a Talk which received our approval. He expressed benevolent sentiments, well calculated to establish a perfect good understanding between us. Another Talk on the part of the Georgians was not so well received, for it showed no intention of receding from their unjust pretensions; And all the propositions that they made on a similar basis were rejected with indignation by the Chiefs—the Chief of the Town of Coweta replied to Mr. White on the part of the assembly, “Manifesting [1] the satisfaction caused him by the disposition of Congress in favor of the red People, and expressed his wish that its Members, as the Supreme Council of the Thirteen Fires of America (The 13 States) had intervened earlier, and had with the adjustment of a Peace, placing the Indians on the same Footing on which they were at the end of the last War, removed every Cause for animosity in the future, [2] That as to the Georgians there are Indian Warriors still living who remember that the English were permitted to build a City on the Savannah River in order to obtain a more advantageous Commerce; But were restricted to the Sea-coast and a District surrounding it, up to where the Tide rises in the Rivers, and by a solemn pact it was stipulated that that Government should never permit any of its People to pass the prescribed Boundaries without the permission of the nation—The pact was always faithfully kept by the English; And when a Foreign nation tried to expel the new Settlers from their Homes, and would have succeeded in the attempt, this nation took up Arms and helped to drive back the Invaders; With this the English were assured the Possession which our Fathers granted them—[3] That since then, there has existed with little interruption a Friendly intercourse with them until a few Summers back when there took control of the Country a universal frenzy, which seems still to exist; For, otherwise, the Descendants of a People that have so recently settled on our Lands, and have been protected by us, would not be so forgetful of such invaluable benefits as to try to destroy a nation to which they and their Fathers are so much indebted—Warriors still live who rendered these services, and are still in a condition to Punish such ingratitude—“Everything considered, we were glad to see among us a Character as respectable as is the Deputy of Congress, and although we could not with due attention to our own interest accept all of his propositions, we hoped, nevertheless, that Congress would learn the truth through him, and we flattered ourselves, that the Supreme Council of America, composed of wise and good Men, would give due consideration to our Complaints, and would adopt the most Opportune measures

¹³“Colonel,” or “Doctor” James White. See *Publications*, No. 11 (1939), 71, note 20.

to repair the injury done, and that it would establish a permanent Peace between the Red People and the White—When Mr. White told me good-bye he returned to Georgia, and at his request I offered to suspend Hostilities on our part, and if it should not be possible to get the nation to stop all hostilities, to attempt, at least, to give time for the deliberations of Congress on the matter, the results of which would arrive next August. I communicated this to the Chiefs, and all agreed to it; but an event has just happened which I fear will frustrate our pacific intentions—You will have seen in the Georgia Gazette of last summer, an account of Colonel Clarke's¹⁴ having attacked and dispersed a large Body of Indians with a small number of his men, sustaining a loss of only two—I am going to recount the affair to you—A considerable Body of Indians had driven from the south Bank of the Oconee River the white People who had settled there; This was effected without any opposition whatever, the Georgians fleeing without defending themselves. As soon as the Indians returned, Colonel Clarke began a Campaign, entered the boundaries of the nation, and attacked two Indians (not pertaining to the aforesaid Body) who were Hunting; the two Indians, in defending themselves, killed two and wounded another of Clarke's Men before they themselves fell—All who know anything of Indian maxims know that it is a point of honor with these people to revenge their compatriots that fall in War. In conformity with this, the Friends of the two defunct Indians killed two Americans this Summer. The Georgians, instead of demanding the Indians that did the Killing, fell upon several small parties of Indians from the Town of Cusitaws, which is friendly to them, Killing and Capturing Eleven who were Hunting within their own Boundaries under the Sanction of the close friendship which has always existed between them and the Georgians. This affair will cause an immediate break, and when the circumstances that caused it are known, we cannot be accused of having failed in what was Promised to the Deputy of Congress, Mr. White, and the event will be sufficient to convince you of the Justice of my observations on Georgian faith and honor; for with the recent deed they have shown the most obvious disregard of Treaties concluded under the Sanction of all the ties that can bind a Civilized People. In the most solemn manner by the said Treaties every act of Retaliation was abolished. It had been stipulated that neither of the Parties should appeal to the said Law of Retaliation unless satisfaction had first been asked of the aggressor, and, in case it was refused, a formal declaration of War should follow. We have sent to request satisfaction formally. If the Georgians refuse to give it, we will take it, and until it is taken there is no settlement of the present break—The 10th of this Month there was a general Meeting of the Creek Nation, to give an audience to a Deputation from the Northern Indians, composed of the Principal Warriors of the Mohawk, Iroquois, Huron, Oneida, and Shawnee Nations; when the Mohawk Chief with a large Belt of Wampum (A species of embroidery made of Oyster shells) in his hand perorated in the following manner

. [Alexander McGillivray]

Duplicate

Zéspedes

¹⁴Elijah Clarke.

[Translation]

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ, PENSACOLA, MARCH 26, 1788¹⁵

Confidential

My much esteemed Friend McGillivray, so British at Heart, perhaps will decline to take the step that he has resolved upon and make Peace with the Americans, and may now take the opportunity of troubling the people of Franklin. Nevertheless it is always necessary to distrust him and Pantón, since the latter is governed only by his interests and will therefore try to carry on his trade where he pays no duties, about which he complains, as well as about other things, without cause. I will dissimulate with them until I see what Your Excellency and the Intendant order, and in the meantime McGillivray may come to be of some use; in fine, I will keep Your Excellency and the Intendant informed of any disloyalty which I may see in him, in order that you may take Your measures to decrease the influence of Pantón among the Indians so that you may also use some one for this Trade who is devoted to, and will become a vassal of Our King, which Pantón refuses to do, nor will he take the oath like the others.

I am very much pleased with the proposition with which you favor me in your Letter of the 26th of last month. I cannot say exactly what the Indians will agree on until I learn the disposition of McGillivray; but whatever way you think he can be useful, you will find me ready, and I will be much pleased to serve your immediate orders in carrying them out, considering it a great favor. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró

MIRÓ AND NAVARRO TO VALDÉS, NEW ORLEANS,
APRIL 1, 1788¹⁶

No. 53

Most Excellent Sir

Enclosed Your Excellency will find, together with a favorable report, a Memorial to His Majesty from Mr. James Mather and Mr. Arthur Strother, Residents and Merchants of this City, in which, renewing the request which was sent to the predecessor of Your Excellency in Representation no. 232, that they be permitted to deposit fifty thousand *pesos* in paper in the Royal Coffers here, to receive it in silver from those at Vera Cruz, they set forth the ruin that threatens them if the trade with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians is taken from them.

The great importance it is to us now more than ever to keep the friendship of the said Nations impels us to manifest clearly to Your Excellency that if it happens that the Indians change the Merchants with whom they trade, which we fear will be the case if there is not a Warehouse of goods in Mobile, we will undoubtedly lose them, and they will be very difficult to regain once the United States is able to attract them to its friendship and trade.

Perhaps Your Excellency has been informed that the said individuals have become very powerful, but we can assure you that this is not true, and that there are many inconveniences to progress, as for instance, the credit they extend, the large funds necessary, the necessity of having the funds

¹⁵A. G. I., P. C., 38.

¹⁶A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-8.

employed in order to collect profits, which are doubtful, and we declare to Your Excellency that if we had not permitted them to sell in this Capital the goods left over from the trade with the Indians on the Mississippi, which trade is carried on with more security and less credit, they would already have abandoned it, and that if it is not granted at this time they will not be able to sustain the trade. And in proof of this truth, if there is any Firm which solicits this business, as is indicated by Your Excellency's request in the Royal Order of August 16, 1787 for a List of the goods consumed annually in these Provinces, we are of the opinion that it would be best for His Majesty's service for the said Firm to send an intelligent person to learn of the above mentioned difficulties before beginning the trade; and we contend that this is best for His Majesty's service because if the trade is granted to the Firm and taken from the petitioners, and from Pantón, through whom the Nations that trade at Pensacola are supplied, we very much fear that it [the Firm] will abandon it at the end of the first or second year, which will result in surrender to the United States, the fear of which was indicated, and this will cause infinite injuries to the residents here, and finally a war with the Indians, from which much bloodshed will result without the least advantage, even though we are victorious, an end which will not be difficult to obtain.

The petitioners are very much frightened since they know that we are not permitted to allow them another Expedition. We have had much difficulty in preventing their changing the manner in which the trade is carried on since they are opposed to selling their goods on credit at Mobile, the Warehouse there having just finished being refilled in a great part. That would be equivalent to abandoning the trade altogether, because the traders, who are now bringing the peltries in payment for what they got last year, have nothing with which to pay cash for the new merchandise they absolutely need to continue their trade.

We have permitted ourselves these reflections because we are moved only by our zeal for the better service of His Majesty, and we believe that it is best to grant what these persons ask". . .

Estevan Miró

Martin Navarro

His Excellency Don Antonio Valdés.

[Translation]

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ, PENSACOLA, APRIL 7, 1788¹⁸

I pass on to Your Excellency Copies of two letters that I have received from the Indian Commissary, Mr. Alexander McGillivray, one dated March 1 and the other the 28th¹⁹ of the same month of this year; in order that in consequence of them, and being informed of their Tenor, you may order what you think best.

¹⁷A few days before this was written the king signed an order (March 23) granting the petition mentioned here. See copy of the order in Corbitt, *op. cit.*, *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXI, No. 2 (June, 1937), 186-88.

¹⁸A. G. I., P. C., 38.

¹⁹Both letters are printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 168-70, 172-74. The originals are in A. G. I., P. C., 201 (photostats in the McClung Collection). In the first McGillivray replied to several charges preferred against him by Vicente Folch, the commandant at Mobile. He also mentioned a peace proposal by General Andrew Pickens of South Carolina. The second letter made further comments on the peace proposal and mentioned the attack on the surveying party referred to here. McGillivray expressed a desire to be on good terms with Folch.

The report about the killing of the American Surveyor²⁰ and one of his Followers by the Indians has been known here for two months; notwithstanding, McGillivray has said nothing about it until now—for what reason I do not know. . . .

Señor Don Estevan Miró

Arturo O'Neill

FRASER TO MIRÓ, YAZOO, APRIL 15, 1788²¹

Honor'd Sir

Your favour of the 25 Ulto I received by a Indian. with a few lines from Governor Folch Commandt. of Mobile. And as it was not in my power to Answer your Letter by the Bearer I hope your Honor will Excuse me. And as to the Coppy's they were taken from the Oregenall Letter, After the arrival of Tuskapotapa & Eskeato Chiefs of the Chickesaws Arrived here from Orleans & was sent for by Franchemastabie to Tabocas house who was in the woods at the time they were sent for upon which day I copped them & Sent them to Your Honor by the first Oppurtunity

And as to what your [you?] Observe Concerning Mr. White & Mr. Woods²² I must now Inform you that Mr. White never Arrived in this Nation or the Chickesaws & as to Mr. Woods Taboca left him Sick at the Falls of the Ohio & Delivered the letters to Toboca to give Mr. White If in Case he was Arrived in these Nations According to the Expectation of Congress. And as to Taboca brining [sic] any Talks but those sent you Theer is no such thing as he had no Interpreter along with him & is quite Ignorant of what was Said to him only that he says they used him very well & gave him 1 Blew Coat Laced & Red faceings 1 Buff Jacket. 1 Do. Breeches 1 pr. Silver Arm Bands 1 Gorget 2 pr. Shoes, 2 pr. Stockins, 1 Sword & Sash with even Spectales and Engraved on the Arm Bands a present from the Legislative of Pennsylvania to Piamataha With a Laced Hatt & Several Plums of feathers with the Pictures of General Washington & Lady and Governor Penns Picture Proprieter of that State,

Tuskapotapa receveid his Presents but told me when he went to his land that he Should Send the Americans a Talk not to send any more talks to them & that he has taken fast hold of the Spaniards by the hand & that he has been avisiting a Peopel who he looks upon to be the Same as he used to visite at Mobile formerley when the English was there and that he See agreat many English and that they Seemed to be one peopel & I belive Piamingo of the Chickesaws Received the same Presents as Tuskpotapa, but as for Franchemastabie I supose he had the same presents as the others but Taboca having Landed at the Mouth of Wolf River Could not bring them to him and when Piamingo Sent for his brought them in & has made away with them all but 1 coat 1 pr. Shoes 1 pr. Stockings & his plums of feathers which Taboca him Self Brought him, And as to Indians receveing Presents they will do it let it Come from any Power when sent them. Taboca is

²⁰In his letter of March 28 to O'Neill, McGillivray indentified the surveyor as a Captain Nash, who was surveying the land between the Cumberland and the Ohio by order of Congress.

²¹A. G. I., P. C., 52. See *Publications*, No. 11 (1939), 77, note 31, for other activities of Fraser.

²²Captain John Woods, Georgia's agent to the Choctaws. See *Publications*, No. 11, p. 85, note 24.

Determined to pay your Honor a visite at Orleans as Soon as Franchimastabie arives from Mobille If he can get any Encouragement & his health will permitte at which time I will try and prevail on him to Carry the origenall With him. I Observed to your Honor before that Franchimastabie had a talk Likewise sent him which talk I will make him send by Taboca, I understand from the Chickesaws that Piamingo of Chuckafalla is agoing to send or has Sent off for 15 Horse Load Amunition that is for that Nation at Cumberland & is to be given them only for Send for it. I spoke to Mr. Fonrett to Petition your Honor In behalf of me for Land on the Tombigby as I did not know what form to Draw it in being a Stranger to The Spanish Laws. . . .

Alexander Fraser

N. C. Should anything Occure at any time worth Notice Shall allways Acquaint your Honor with it

Governor Miró

New Orleans

[Translation]

FOLCH TO MIRÓ, MOBILE, APRIL 26, 1788²³

No. 60

The abuses introduced into the Indian trade, and the inferior class of traders, make Joyce and Turnbull, the Factors at this warehouse who are responsible for its debts, not want to give merchandise on credit except to a small number of traders who are known for their integrity: the results are that the traders who have been refused goods return to the nation to sow discontent among the Indians, the outcome of which was the journey of Taboca and several others to New England.

If a trading company is established resembling that which existed during the time of the English, the Store will grant without fear the dry goods and wares that are requested, confident of payment. By this means it will be possible to prevent the Indians from buying goods on credit in one Village and selling their peltries in another, the thing that has caused the ruin of some persons who have dedicated themselves to this kind of business.

According to an estimate which has been made for me, the annual trade of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations will produce a profit of six thousand *pesos*, for which reason I believe that eight persons will be sufficient to compose the suggested Company. It will employ an equal number of clerks, or more if they can be found, and of course only young men of acknowledged ability will be hired, because its interests will require it.

The best result to be derived from the new Company is that each member of it will be a prosecutor of every wandering American, hindering him from settling in any Village, and you will have reliable news of all that happens.

The company should be formed for a number of years—three or four, as you see fit, and before the expiration of the designated time nobody could leave.

In its formation there should not be omitted some wealthy Englishmen that carry weight with the Indians who are scattered through the Nation, such as Fraser, Ben James, and others whose names I don't remember; but hereafter we must see carefully after replacing them with French inhabitants

²³A. G. I., P. C., 52.

of this District, with which touch the act will reach the last degree of perfection.

I remit to you as you requested, the articles of the Company so that you may add or subtract what seems necessary

Vizte Folch

Estevan Miró

ARTICLES FOR THE PROPOSED TRADING COMPANY FOR MOBILE²⁴

Articles to be Observed by a Company which is proposed to be formed to Carry on the trade of the Choctaw & Chickasaw Nations—Viz.

1. The Company is to be formed of 8 persons to be chosen out of the best and most responsible people now carrying on the trade, each of the eight is to furnish 30 horses with their tacklings for the conveyance of the Business—

2d. The Company So formed are to Appoint two or three good men whom are acquainted in the Nations, to Value the different Debts owing to the traders now carrying on the Business, which debts the Company are to pay for, agreeable to the Valuation So made, by giving these people Credit for it in the Store here, or any other way that may be found most convenient—

3d. They are to establish 4 or 6 Stores in the Chactaws & 2 in the Chickasaws, in the most convenient towns for the Supply of the indians, each trader to account for the Quantity of goods he receives, the Company to Account with the Store in their General Account for all the goods taken out, by them—

4th. They are to have no private trade upon any Acct. whatsoever, those that form the Company are Also to have their debts Valued, to prevent any disputes hereafter, the Amount of Such debts will be passed to their Credit in their private Account with the Company—

[Translation]

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ, PENSACOLA, MAY 8, 1788²⁵

I enclose to Your excellency Copies of three Letters from the Indian Commissary Mr. Alexander McGillivray, the first two dated April 15 and the last the 25th²⁶ of the same month of this year. The first is a reply to the one I wrote him about the Royal Orders Your Excellency sent me: The second is about the said McGillivray's having treated with two Deputies from the Cumberland settlement, and the third requests the liberty of Charles Wetherford.²⁷ By their tenor Your Excellency will know all that is indicated about McGillivray's way of thinking

Arturo O'Neill*

Señor Don Estevan Miró

²⁴A. G. I., P. C., 52. It was intended that the company here outlined should succeed Mather and Strother at Mobile. The plan failed to materialize and Panton, Leslie & Co. took over the trade of the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

²⁵A. G. I., P. C., 38.

²⁶Both letters are printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 176-79. The originals are in A. G. I., P. C., 201 (photostats in the McClung Collection). The letter of April 15 dealt with the plans of Congress and Georgia for peace with the Indians; that of April 28 told of a proposition from Colonels Robertson, Bledsoe, Ewing and others, for a separate peace between Cumberland and the Indians.

²⁷Brother-in-law of McGillivray. See *Publications*, No. 11, p. 67, note 11.

*The seventh installment of these "Papers" will appear in *Publications*, No. 14.

A KING'S MOUNTAIN DIARY

Edited by Mary Hardin McCown

Lyman C. Draper, in his search for source material for his book, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, published in 1881, contacted one William McCall, a resident of the North Cove region of the Catawba River, near Marion, North Carolina. McCall had obtained his data from a maternal grandfather, David Gillespie, son of Henry Gillespie, who had emigrated from Ireland in 1769 and settled in the Turkey Cove section of Burke (now McDowell) County, North Carolina. David was a lad about fourteen years old at the time of the Battle of King's Mountain. At the time of Draper's visit, there was in the possession of the Gillespie family, but not shown to Draper, a small, brown, calf-skin book, four inches by six inches in size, said to have been found on the battle field after King's Mountain and to have been given to Henry Gillespie. In this manuscript arithmetic book near the middle of page 47 is recorded a diary, dated "September ye 24th, 1780" and continuing until October 7, 1780. Several verses of old war-time ballads, and some local family names are also inscribed on scattered pages. The entries in the diary were probably made by a member of some detachment of the British army, and give a fleeting glimpse of the events prior to that decisive battle of King's Mountain. The diary is now in the possession of Miss Edna Brinkley of Marion, North Carolina, a descendant of Henry Gillespie through the younger of his two sons, William, who remained on the family tract in Turkey Cove. Photostatic copies are in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, and in the possession of the editor.

Had the interesting diary been discovered by Draper, it is almost certain that he would have published it in the appendix to his *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* along with the lengthy and informative record kept by Lieutenant Anthony Allaire. The unwillingness of the descendants of Henry Gillespie to reveal to Draper the existence of the diary may have been due to the fact that there is to be found pasted on page 53 of the same book a slip of paper—a pass to Henry Gillespie, signed by the commander of the British forces at the Battle of King's Mountain:

Henry Gillespie having engaged to be faithful to the King and his Govert. is not to be injured in person or Property
Sept 18th—1780—

Pat Ferguson
Major 71 Reg.

Denied the opportunity of seeing this pass, Draper wrote of Henry Gillespie (*King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, page 181) that he was acting a neutral part in the war—probably, from his exposed situation, as his only recourse to save himself and family from destruction by the Indians, instigated as they were, by British emissaries stationed among them. Gillespie was kept at camp during the night [of September 29, by Col. William Campbell's party of Overmountain men, seeking intelligence of Ferguson's whereabouts]; but he really had no secrets to reveal and was set at liberty the following morning.

The existence of the pass, however, does not necessarily prove that Henry Gillespie was a Tory, and it is unfortunate that the fears engendered by it postponed the publication of the diary for so many years.

September ye 24th 1780

Lower Creek Camp¹—A small party of his Majesties Subjects Being Assembled Together² Received Account of five hundred Rebels A Coming. on us³ We Retreated over to Silver Creek Camp⁴—

Tuesday ye 26th—

We Retreated up to the head of Muddy Creek⁵ and Camped—

Wednesday ye 27th—

We Received an Express [illegible] that very many of the Rebels Being on the Lower Creek⁶ and [illegible] We sent an Express on down to head quarters at Gilberttown⁷—

¹The exact location of this "Lower Creek Camp" is not known, but it was obviously in Burke County, North Carolina, near the boundary between the present day counties of Rutherford and McDowell. The next entry shows it was not more than two days march from the Silver Creek British camp.

²This "small party of His Majesties Subjects" was probably some detachment of the British army, which at this time was scattered throughout this vicinity.

³Lieutenant Anthony Allaire's Diary, published by Draper, reports that on Sunday, September 24, 1780, news was received at Gilbert Town (Ferguson's headquarters) of the advance northward of 600 rebels, who, led by Colonel Elijah Clarke, had laid siege to Augusta, Georgia. Upon the arrival of Colonel Cruger with aid for Colonel Browne, the commander at Augusta, Clarke's men had moved north. Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and its Heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), 508.

⁴Silver Creek has its headwaters in the Silver Creek knob, about three miles south of the present village of Brindletown. Draining the southwest portion of Burke County, it flows northeast and empties into the Catawba River just west of Morganton. After the skirmish on September 12, when Ferguson and his Tory followers had routed and driven back McDowell's men near the head of Cane Creek, the British had moved to the north of Cane Creek, and established a camp site near the White Oak Spring, near Brindletown. This is on the direct road between Morganton and Gilbert Town, and was probably the Silver Creek camp site here mentioned. *Ibid.*, 148, 149.

⁵Muddy Creek, another tributary of the Catawba River, drains that part of Burke County (now McDowell) and has its mouth at Bridgewater, flowing into the recently formed Lake James of the Catawba.

⁶Either the troops from South Carolina under Colonels Lacey, Hill and Williams or those from Wilkes and Surry counties led by Colonels Cleveland and Winston.

⁷Located three miles north of the present Rutherfordton, and named for William Gilbert, of Rutherford County, who was a loyal friend of King George. Allaire said, "This town contains one dwelling house, one barn, a blacksmith shop and some out houses." *Ibid.*, 508.

Wednesday ye 27th At Night—
We Retreated Back and Camped on Cain Creek⁸—

Sept 28th
from Cain Creek we Retreated to Gilberttown⁹—

28th at night
we Retreated to head Quarters about three miles¹⁰ from Gilberttown

Sept ye 29th—
we Continued at Camp; at night we had an alarm¹¹ Which kept us In
Confusion great part of the Night

Sept ye 30th—
We marched of[f] Very Early in the Morning and Continued Our
March Till of the middle of the Afternoon And Camped on the South Side
of Broad River¹²—

October ye 1st—
We continued at Camp: About noon Col Ferguson¹³ Marched In to
Camp—

Oct ye 2nd—
About half an hour By Sun in the after Noon we marched Across
Broad River¹⁴—And marched in the night Eastward to Barnakings [?]¹⁵ And
Camped—

⁸The retreat was southward. Cane Creek flows south, emptying into the Second Broad River several miles east of Gilbert Town. The headwaters of Cane and Silver creeks interlock, and it was in this same vicinity that the Overmountain men made their camp on October 1, just four nights later. *Ibid.*, 186.

⁹The march continued southward.

¹⁰This was the main headquarters of Ferguson's army.

¹¹On September 27, during the march of the Overmountain men, James Crawford and Samuel Chambers deserted and went to Ferguson's headquarters to warn him of the approach of the American troops. This news most likely reached Gilbert Town about this time, causing the alarm mentioned. *Ibid.*, 177.

¹²The retreat turned eastward, the route lying between the Second Broad and the main Broad rivers. This latter river has its source in the foothills of the mountains of western North Carolina and flows east, draining the southern border. At its confluence with the Second Broad near the South Carolina state line, it turns southward and joins the Saluda River near Columbia, South Carolina to form the Congaree. The course of the Broad River is so indented with curves and bends that the writer correctly states the camp to be on the "south side of Broad river," although they had not yet crossed it.

¹³Ferguson had hoped to intercept Colonel Clarke's army; so on September 27, he left Gilbert Town and moved west into the Green River region in search of Clarke. Three days later, on September 30, he got news of the coming of the Overmountain men, and he promptly sent a dispatch to Lord Cornwallis, at Tryon Courthouse (Charlotte) asking for help. This dispatch was delayed and did not reach Cornwallis until the morning of October 7, the very day of Ferguson's defeat and death. A second dispatch was sent to Colonel Cruger, at Ninety-Six, seeking aid. Ferguson tarried in this region, still hoping to intercept Clarke's men, and on October 1, he marched to Denard's Ford of the Broad River, where he camped for the night. This was eight miles south of Gilbert Town. *Ibid.*, 201-03. Allaire said, "Sunday, October 1, Ferguson's troops got in motion at 5 o'clock in the morning and marched 12 miles to Denard's Ford of Broad River and took up our old ground where we lay on September 8, and camped for the night." *Ibid.*, 509.

¹⁴Ferguson's troops crossed Broad River at Denard's Ford at 4 p.m. on Monday, October 2. *Ibid.*, 509.

¹⁵Impossible to decipher this line.

Octbr ye 3rd—

We marched of[f] Very Early in the morning¹⁶ and Crossed Second Broad at the high Shoals¹⁷ And Camped on the West of first Broad River¹⁸

Octo the 4th—

We Continued our march toward the southeast and Incamped on the East side of Buffelloe¹⁹—

October ye 5th—

We Continued at Camp²⁰—

October ye 6th—

We marched of[f] Towards tryon old Courthouse²¹ And Camped near kings mountain;²² From thence we Marched to the high Pinnacle²³ of —K— [illegible] where we thought we would Camp But Adverse fortune Confused our Imaginations, for the 7th²⁴ of Octor. the cursed rebels Came upon us Killed and Took us every Soul and So

My Dear friends I bid you farewell for I am Started to the warm Country²⁵—

¹⁶Allaire states that Ferguson's troops got in motion about 4 o'clock in the morning, October 3, marched six miles to Camp's Ford of the Second Broad River; forded it and marched six miles to Sandy Run, forded it, and then seven miles to Buffalo Creek, which they forded and took camp at Tate's, one mile to the east. *Ibid.*, 509. This account does not mention crossing the First Broad River, which lies between Sandy Run and Buffalo Creek.

¹⁷It is not known whether this is the Camp's Ford mentioned by Allaire as the place where Ferguson crossed.

¹⁸The retreat continued eastward. First Broad River is another tributary of the main Broad River. It rises near Flint Hill and flows south, emptying into the main Broad below the mouth of Second Broad and above the mouth of Buffalo Creek.

¹⁹Buffalo Creek is another tributary of main Broad River. This "unknown party" had traveled more slowly than Ferguson, who had crossed Buffalo on October 3. It was from this camp at Tate's that Ferguson sent his last desperate appeal for help to Cornwallis.

²⁰Ferguson's troops also remained in camp on October 5.

²¹Charlotte, the headquarters of Cornwallis.

²²Allaire states, "Friday, October 6. Got in motion at 4 o'clock in morning and marched 16 miles to Little King's Mountain, where we took up our ground." *Ibid.*, 510.

²³The King's Mountain range is sixteen miles in length, extending northeast and southwest, lying in both North and South Carolina. The Pinnacle, or highest part of the range, is a sort of a lofty tower, lying in North Carolina and about six miles northeast of the oblong stony hill, on which the battle proper was fought, this latter being in South Carolina. The summit of the battle ground is only about sixty feet above the level of the surrounding country. It is about 600 yards long and varies in width from 250 yards at the base to about sixty yards at the top. This territory is now a national military park.

²⁴The Americans had continued the chase after Ferguson's men all the morning of October 7, in a pouring rain, which ceased only at noon. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived near King's Mountain where they knew the British were encamped. After a brief halt, they advanced into battle.

²⁵The victors encamped on the battle ground with the dead and wounded on the night of October 7, and took up the march on the morning of the 8th, eager to hasten away from the vicinity before the approach of Tarleton, whom Cornwallis had sent to aid Ferguson.

WESTERN REPRESENTATION IN NORTH CAROLINA ASSEMBLIES, 1776-1790

Compiled By Samuel C. Williams

The Tennessee Historical Commission is launching plans for the encouragement of the writing of histories of the more historic counties of Tennessee for publication in 1945 or 1946—the latter being the sesquicentennial of Tennessee's statehood. A part of the plan being considered is for the Commission to make reasonable financial grants in aid of printing of such histories which may be prepared in the several counties, and to draft a bill for passage by the next Tennessee General Assembly, enabling county courts to make like grants in aid.

A number of county histories have already appeared, but many more ought to be published as a part of the sesquicentennial celebration. To assist in the preparation of histories of such counties as Washington, Greene, Hawkins, Knox, Smith, and Montgomery (formerly Tennessee County) this paper has been prepared. It will afford interesting data, as, for example: John Carter was the first state senator from the Tennessee country; James White, of White's Mill and later White's Fort, was Knox County's first legislator, when Knox was a part of Hawkins County; the first legislator from what is now Middle Tennessee was Elijah Robertson, brother of James Robertson, and Anthony Bledsoe was the first state senator from this section.

The representatives from the western country had to do with the molding of measures which vitally affected the history of their region. To name only a few: the first cession act of 1784 and its repeal; the second cession act of 1789; the creation and naming of new counties in the West and the naming of their military officers, many of whom had served during and after the Revolutionary War; the Indian wars of the period; and the navigation of the Mississippi River.

It will not escape observation that the western folk honored, by sending to legislative councils from 1776 to 1790, men who had served them well as military officers against the Indians and the British. The same thing continued in after-generations. Tennessee has ever been a martial state—a fact with which our local historians have not adequately reckoned.

These lists also amply demonstrate that the people on the west-

ern waters sent able men to represent them in the councils of North Carolina. After-honors bestowed upon, as well as earlier achievements won by, those leaders, is cumulative demonstration. To name some who reached high rank in public life: United States senators: William Cocke, William Blount, and Daniel Smith; governors: John Sevier of the State of Franklin and Tennessee, Isaac Shelby of Kentucky, and William Blount of the Southwest Territory; members of Congress: William Blount, John Sevier, John Rhea, and Robert Weakley; brigadier-generals: Evan Shelby, John Sevier (the only brigadier-general in the United States army at the time), James Robertson, Joseph Martin, Landon Carter, James Winchester, James White of Knox County, Daniel Smith, and Daniel Kennedy; Tennessee Supreme Court judge: John Overton. There are also fifteen Tennessee counties bearing members' names: Bledsoe, Blount, Carter, Cocke, Hardeman, Hardin, Montgomery, Overton, Rhea, Robertson, Sevier, Shelby, Smith, Weakley, and Wilson. This total of fifteen is about one-sixth of the counties today, and nearly one-half of those in existence at the time the last of the above counties was organized.

The preparation of the list below called for much tedious research. No effort was spared to rescue the names of all the western representatives in the legislative councils of North Carolina. The data was drawn from Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1895-1905), but to cite that work in footnotes would be too repetitious and cumbersome.¹ This writer has covered some parts of the field in his *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1924), but for the same reason that volume is seldom cited.

¹Because of the lapse of more than one hundred years between the preparation of the North Carolina Senate and House Journals and their publication in the *State Records*, many parts of these Journals have been lost. For many years' sessions the names of all of the western members could not be recovered. Having to travel long distances to reach the seat of the Assembly, many members arrived late, after the roll had been made up; so the researcher was forced to search the Journals page by page to ascertain the names of many of them. Therefore, it is possible that some names have been omitted; but if so it was after patient and repeated search.

WESTERN REPRESENTATION IN NORTH CAROLINA ASSEMBLIES, 1776-1790

	Washington ²	Sullivan	Greene	Davidson	Sumner	Hawkins	Tennessee ^{1a}
Provincial Congress and Constitutional Convention ² 1776 (Halifax)	(District) John Carter John Haile ³ Charles Robert-son ⁴ John Sevier						
General Assembly 1777 (Newbern) Senate House of Commons	(District) John Carter John Sevier Jacob Womack						
1778 (Newbern) Senate House of Commons	(County) Charles Robert-son William Cocke Luke Bowyer ⁵						
1779 (Halifax) Senate House of Commons	Charles Robertson Jesse Walton ⁶ Henry Clark						
1780 (Hillborough) Senate House of Commons	Charles Robert-son Charles Allison Henry Clark	David Looney					
1781 (Halifax) and Wake C. H. ⁷ Senate House of Commons	Charles Allison	Evan Shelby					

	Washington ⁹	Sullivan	Greene	Davidson	Sumner	Hawkins	Tennessee ¹²
1782 (Hillsborough) Senate House of Commons	William Cocke Joseph Hardin Thomas Houghton	Anthony Bledsoe Isaac Shelby Joseph Martin					
1783 (Hillsborough) Senate House of Commons	Daniel Kennedy Joseph Hardin Landon Carter	Joseph Martin Abraham Bledsoe William Cage					
1784 (Newbern) Senate. House of Commons	Charles Robertson Landon Carter	William Cage David Looney	Joseph Gist Alexander Outlaw				
1785 (Newbern) ⁸ Senate House of Commons				Anthony Bledsoe William Polk ^a Elijah Robertson			
1786 (Fayetteville) ¹⁰ Senate House of Commons	John Tipton Richard White James Stuart	Joseph Martin John Scott Thomas Hutchings		Anthony Bledsoe James Robertson William Polk			

	Washington ²	Sullivan	Greene	Davidson	Sumner	Hawkins	Tennessee ²³
1787 (Tarr-borough) ¹¹ Senate House of Commons	Robert Allison James Stuart	Joseph Martin John Scott George Maxwell	Daniel Kennedy David Campbell	James Robertson Robert Ewing Robert Hays	Anthony Bledsoe James Sanders	Nathaniel Henderson, William Marshall	
1788 (Fayetteville) Senate House of Commons	John Tipton James Stuart John Blair	John Scott George Maxwell	James Roddy Joseph Hardin Alexander Outlaw	James Robertson Elijah Robertson, Thomas Hardeman	William Walton, James Clendenning	Thomas Amis Thomas King William Cocke	
1789 (Fayetteville) ¹² Senate House of Commons	Landon Carter Robert Love John Blair	Joseph Martin John Rhea John Scott	John Sevier ¹³ John Ellison Alexander Outlaw	Robert Ewing Joel Rice	David Wilson	Thomas Amis Thomas King James White ¹⁴	Thomas Johnson, John Drew
1788 Convention to Consider U. S. Constitution (Hillsborough) ¹⁵	Robert Allison James Stuart John Tipton John Blair Joseph Tipton	Joseph Martin John Scott John Dunkin David Looney John Sharp	Ashabel Rawlings, James Wilson, James Roddy	Thomas Evans ¹⁶ Thomas Hardeman, Robert Weakley, William Donaldson William Dobbins	James Winchester, William Stokes, Daniel Smith David Wilson Edward Douglass	Stockley Donelson, Thomas King, William Marshall	
1789 Convention Ratifying U. S. Constitution, (Fayetteville) ¹⁷	Landon Carter ¹⁸ Robert Love John Blair William Houston, Andrew Greer	John Rhea William Nash John Scott Joseph Martin	John Sevier Alexander Outlaw, John Allison, George Doherty, James Wilson	Charles Ger-rard ¹⁹ , Joel Rice Robert Ewing James Mount-florence ²⁰ , William Dobbins	Daniel Smith David Wilson Edward Douglass, Samuel Mason John Overton	Nathaniel Henderson, James White, John Hunt, Elijah Chesson (Chisholm?)	John Montgomery, John Drew, Thomas Johnson, William Blount ²¹ Benjamin Menees

²The representatives from Washington District, successor of the Watauga Association, in the Provincial Congress of 1776 participated in the drafting of North Carolina's first constitution. Washington County was created by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1777, and was first represented under that name in the session of 1778.

³Haile's is a shadowy figure. He was from the Lunenburg-Bedford region of Virginia, and was a brother-in-law of Matthew Talbott of Watauga. It is likely that he died shortly after moving to the Watauga settlement.

⁴The cousin, not the brother, of James Robertson. The fact that there were two Charles Robertsons has led to much confusion.

⁵See S. C. Williams, "Tennessee's First Lawyer: Luke Bowyer," in *Proceedings of the Bar Association of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1926), 116-22.

⁶See S. C. Williams, "The Founder of Tennessee's First Town: Major Jesse Walton," in *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 2 (Knoxville, 1930), 70-81.

⁷The sparse attendance at this session was due to the participation of the western folk in the war against the Cherokee Indians, in the Battle of Guilford Court House, and in the campaign of Colonels John Sevier and Isaac Shelby against the British in South Carolina.

⁸The organization of the State of Franklin explains why the other three counties then in existence sent no representatives to this session. Davidson County never adhered to the Lost State.

⁹The first of the Polk family to live in Tennessee—a fact that has gone unnoticed by our historians. After serving in the Revolutionary War and rising to the rank of colonel, Polk was named surveyor-general of the region which is now Middle Tennessee. In December of the same year, 1783, he removed to the Cumberland "and took up his residence and fixed his office at the French Lick, the site on which Nashville stands. Here he remained until 1786. . . ." "William Polk's Autobiography," in W. H. Hoyt, *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh, 1914), II, 408. Polk was a warm friend of Andrew Jackson and managed the latter's campaigns for the presidency in North Carolina. He was the father of Bishop-General Leonidas Polk of Tennessee and Louisiana.

¹⁰The resumed representation of Washington and Sullivan counties evidences the rising tide of revolt against the State of Franklin. Greene County did not share in this revolt.

¹¹John Tipton claimed election to the Senate from Washington County, but was denied his seat. Thomas Amis and Stockley Donelson claimed election to the Senate from Hawkins County, but the election was declared void and neither was seated.

¹²The Journal of the Senate of 1789, as printed in *The State Records of North Carolina*, is incomplete and does not show members from the counties of Davidson, Sumner, and the recently established county of Tennessee. This county was the first territorial division formally to bear the name of the Tennessee River. The area of the state of Tennessee was frequently referred to as the "Tennessee Country" before the name was applied to the state in 1796. Tennessee County was created by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1788. Although A. W. Putnam, in his *History of Middle Tennessee* (Nashville, 1859), 299, expressed the view that the county was not actually organized until 1791, the court minutes copied by Putnam show that the county court acted in 1789, the year in which the county sent delegates to the North Carolina convention. When the name of the county was surrendered to the state in 1796, its territory was divided into Montgomery and Robertson counties.

¹³Due to the troublous times in his county of Washington, Sevier was residing temporarily in Greene County, whose electors sent him to the North Carolina Senate. He was a high favorite of the Greene County people.

¹⁴Of that part of Hawkins County which became Knox County.

¹⁵The convention voted 184 to 83 not to ratify the Constitution of 1787. Nearly all of the members from the Tennessee country voted in favor of that disposition of the question. Only two voted for ratification: James Winchester and William Stokes, of Sumner County. The influence of General Griffith Rutherford, who was with the majority, evidently had much weight with the western members. For many years, as brigadier-general, he commanded the militia of the western waters.

¹⁶Major Evans in 1787 led a battalion from North Carolina to Middle Tennessee to guard the people against Indian forays. The battalion was known as "Evans' Guard."

¹⁷This convention ratified the Constitution by a vote of 195 to 75, but with amendments recommended, as had been the case with other states. The reversal of sentiment within the year that North Carolina was out of the Union was most pronounced. Only two members from the trans-Alleghany counties voted against ratification: William Nash and John Scott, of Sullivan. The influence of John Sevier in favor of ratification was great. He had favored ratification the year before and had sharply criticized the action of the previous convention. S. C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1924), 238. Following the fall of the State of Franklin he had made his peace with North Carolina, and his influence and that of his faction was again dominant in the Tennessee country.

¹⁸This adds another and unnoted activity of the Carter family in constitution making—a record without parallel in American history. John Carter was one of the framers of the Watauga Association in 1772, and a member of the first constitutional convention of North Carolina in 1776. Landon, his son, was in the constitutional convention of the State of Franklin in 1785, in this convention of 1789, and in the first constitutional convention of Tennessee, 1796. William B. Carter was president of the Tennessee convention of 1834, and William B. Carter II, was in the Tennessee convention of 1870.

¹⁹Gerrard had served as lieutenant in the North Carolina line in the Revolutionary War. His entry, followed by grant, was of 2560 acres of land at the mouth of Yellow Creek, a southern branch of the Cumberland River. It was one of the oldest grants in Davidson County. *Acts of North Carolina*, 1789, Ch. 42; *State Records of North Carolina*, XXV, 42-3.

²⁰For a brief sketch of Mountflorencia see S. C. Williams, "French and Other Intrigues in the Southwest Territory," in E. T. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, No. 13 (1941), 29n.

²¹Blount evidently owned land in Tennessee County, and, desiring a seat in the convention, he used his influence to have the voters of that county elect him as a delegate, even though he still lived in an eastern county of North Carolina. His younger half-brother, Gov. Willie Blount, later made his home at Clarksville, perhaps having acquired his land from William.

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Compiled *by* Laura E. Luttrell

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- . The Lincolns and Tennessee. (Lincoln herald, L. M. univ., Oct. & Dec. '41.)
- . The military career of Captain James Shelby. (Filson club hist. qr. O'41. v.15: 227-237)
- . A remarkable bench: Campbell, Jackson and White. (Tenn. law rev. Je'41. v.16: 907-914)
- . The Southwest territory to the aid of the Northwest territory, 1791. (Ind. mag. of hist. Je'41. v.37: 152-57)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1941

University of Tennessee, 1941

Archer, Claude Jackson. The life of John Chiles Houk

Blair, Reuben Moore. Development of education in Polk county, Tennessee

Burchfiel, William W., Jr. The Unaka mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina

Carr, Margaret Thompson. History of the Tennessee school for the deaf

Dooley, Mrs. Emily Harris. Marriage legislation in Tennessee

Edwards, Lawrence. History of the Baptists of Tennessee with particular attention to the Primitive Baptists of East Tennessee

Ledford, Allen James. *Methodism in Tennessee, 1783-1866*

Miller, Ernest I. *Some Tennessee utopias*

Molinski, Edward Michael. *Park and playground facilities of Knoxville, Tennessee*

Parhiala, Leimo I. *The great valley of East Tennessee*

Rhoton, Thomas Foster. *History of Franklin county, Tennessee*

Rittgers, Fred H. *Geographical survey of Blount county, Tennessee*

Rowan, Waldo Swinton. *Knoxville stock market*

Street, Clyde Conley. *A history of legal education in Tennessee*

Walker, Arda Susan. *The social and economic views of Andrew Jackson*

Wilson, Ross Harlan. *A study of secondary schools of Morgan county*

Vanderbilt University

Montgomery, James Elmer. *Two resettlement communities on the Cumberland plateau. [Rugby (1872) and Cumberland homesteads (1930)]*

Watkins, Violet Jane. *Pioneer medicine in the Tennessee-Kentucky region*

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, 1941

Chappell, Gordon Thomas. *Life and activities of John Coffee*
(Vanderbilt University)

England, James Merton. *The free negro in ante-bellum Tennessee*
(Vanderbilt University)

IN PREPARATION*

Atherton, Lewis E. *Country and small town merchants in the ante-bellum South*
(A Guggenheim fellowship)

Baccus, Joseph Harold. *The oratory of Andrew Johnson. (Ph.D. Wis.)*

Beard, S. C., Jr. *The southern highlander and the civil war. (Ill.)*

Chisman, Margaret. *The cultural development of Memphis, Tennessee, prior to 1860. (M.A. Duke)*

Clark, Thomas D. *The country store in southern life, 1865-1920. (Ky.)*

Dyer, John P. *Cavalry operation in the army of Tennessee. (Armstrong junior college)*

Green, Claud. *John Trotwood Moore. (Ga.)*

Jordan, Weymouth T. *George Washington Campbell: statesman of the Old Southwest. (Judson)*

Keith, Alice Barnwell. *Three North Carolina Blount brothers in business and politics, 1793-1812. (Meredith)*

Mooney, Chase C. *Slavery in Tennessee. (Brenau)*

Summers, Festus P. *The Virginia and Tennessee railroad in the civil war. (W. Va.)*

Tipton, Hord. *The Tipton family. (Mt. Sterling, Ky.)*

Wallace, Mrs. Lillian Parker. *Medical practices in the Old South. (Meredith)*

Wiley, Bell I. *What the confederate soldier did and how he lived—Camp life. (Miss.)*

*See also *Publications*, nos. 12 and 13

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

The Army of Tennessee, A Military History. By Stanley F. Horn. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941. xiv, 503 pp., \$3.75.)

"An army is not merely a large aggregation of men with guns in their hands. To make an army you must have men and you must have guns, but there is an additional, intangible ingredient which is the deciding factor in its success or failure. An army has a personality. . . . There was another Confederate army, strangely neglected by most historians of the war—the army of Tennessee. It, too, carried the fortunes of the Confederacy on its bayonets no less valiantly than its more famous sister army in Virginia. With stubborn bravery it faced the armies of stout Mid-westerners under such leaders as Grant and Sherman and Thomas, and it matched them blow for blow. . . . But its history is one long, tragic story of changing commanders, of bickering and wrangling among its leaders, of victories whose fruits were not gathered, of defeats which by a slight turn of fortune's wheel might have been signal victories—a discouraging succession of disappointments and might-have-beens. It fought under all these blighting handicaps for nearly four years without losing heart. It suffered at Nashville, in December 1864, the most devastating defeat administered to any army in the whole history of the war; but, undaunted, it gathered its ragged and hungry survivors together and pushed forward again to fight one more successful battle before the final surrender." (Foreword.)

The work is amply documented and illustrated, and contains a number of helpful maps, a complete bibliography, and an adequate index.

Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War. By F. Garvin Davenport. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. xiv, 232 pp., \$3.50.)

"This BRIEF STUDY does not pretend to be a complete social history of Nashville in the ante-bellum period. The word 'culture' has been interpreted to mean intellectual and aesthetic attainment and this definition automatically restricted the author's subject. While the lower classes are not emphasized, the forces growing out of the general social background are given considerable attention in so far as they affect Nashville's march from a semi-frontier condition to a comparatively mature cultural status in 1860." (Preface.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Culture Versus Frontier, 1825-1850; II. Educational Opportunities, 1850-1860; III. Nashville Physicians and Medical Sciences; IV. Religious Leaders in Pulpit and Press; V. The

Nashville Theater: Drama and Opera, 1850-1860; VI. The Nashville Theater: Concerts and Minstrels, 1850-1860; VII. Amateur Amusements: Benefits and Balls; VIII. Pens and Printers' Ink, 1850-1860; IX. Nashville Street Scenes, 1850-1860.

The work is amply documented, includes an extensive bibliography, and is well indexed.

The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870. By Henry Lee Swint. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941. xi, 221 pp., \$2.50.)

"During the last years of the Civil War and throughout the period of reconstruction several thousand Northern teachers, selected and supported by aid societies and educational associations, entered the South and established schools for Negroes and whites. Abolitionist in sentiment and equalitarian in practice, these men and women represented a philosophy which was anathema to the Southern white, and the program which they introduced met with hearty and active opposition. . . .

"This study is not intended to be definitive, but, on the contrary should be considered as an introductory statement. It is a study of those individuals who engaged in teaching the freedom of the South during the period 1862-1870; of their motives, their attitudes, and their experiences. It does not deal with the work of contemporary educational institutions for Negroes, nor does it enter the lists either with those who see in the work of the Northern teachers and politicians the origin of the public school system of the South, or with those who bitterly deny this contention. It is merely an examination of the genesis of a movement and does not purport to be an evaluation of the social significance of recent extra-regional contributions to education in the South." (Preface)

The work is well documented and indexed and has a good bibliography. Included as appendices are: notes on selected officers of educational associations, lists of officers of the leading associations, and of Northern teachers in the South whose homes have been located.

Emily Donelson of Tennessee. By Pauline Wilcox Burke. Two volumes. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1941. xx, 297; xi, 245 pp., \$5.00.)

"This is not a complete history of the Donelson family. An adequate biography of Colonel John Donelson, the pioneer, has yet to be written. The author's original purpose was to write a biography of her great-grandmother, who has her place in the history as one of the Ladies of the White House, and the First Lady from the State of Tennessee whose name she bore—Emily Tennessee Donelson. In the course of research so much family lore came to light that the scope of the book extends beyond its title." (Personal Acknowledgements, II, 213.)

The work is divided into three "books": "Her Family," "The Eaton Malaria," and "Her Time." The chapters are entitled: I. The Family in the Colonies; II. The Widow Donelson; III. Uncle and Aunt Jackson, Their Joys and Sorrows; IV. Down the River and Back Again; V. The Saga Runs; VI. The Governor of Florida; VII. Fear of Impending Calamity; VIII. Washington Society Awakens; IX. The Floodgates are Loosened; X. The Jackson Era Begins; XI. A Fan and A Cologne Bottle; XII. The Battle of the Petticoats; XIII. A House Divided; XIV. For Uncle's Sake; XV. History on Horseback; XVI. Reunion in Wash-

ington; XVII. Another White House Baby; XVIII. A Second Term Begins; XIX. Mrs. Donelson Makes A Record; XX. Vacationing; XXI. Last Days in Washington; XXII. Sacrifice; XXIII. Colonel John Donelson's Legacy.

The work is amply documented and illustrated, and contains two appendices, an extensive bibliography, a complete index, and a convenient chart of the Donelson family.

Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree). By Edd Winfield Parks. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. xv, 258 pp., \$2.50.)

"Sensitive and gallant, Miss Murfree lived strictly within the code to which she was bred. Assured of her social status and of her intellectual integrity, she accepted plaudits with casual satisfaction and ignored criticism as casually. Her books alone belonged to the public. Much of herself—her gayety, charm, wit, and sensitive emotional responses—she reserved for intimate friends and for her family. In the separation which she made between her life as a person and her work as a writer, the person remains the more complex figure. Her reminiscences, her friendships, her struggles and disappointments, her triumphs and happiness were all personal possessions. Of these, the outsider may have only an occasional glimpse." (Page 236.)

The chapters are entitled: I. The Murfrees; II. Mary Noailles; III. Young Southern Lady; IV. R. E. Dembry; V. In the Tennessee Mountains; VI. A Literary Unveiling; VII. Literary Family; VIII. Return to Tennessee; IX. The Novels as Literature; X. Old-Fashioned Modernist; XI. Terminus.

The work is illustrated, well documented, and contains a complete bibliography and index.

Two Fighters and Two Fines: Sketches of the Lives of Matthew Lyon and Andrew Jackson. By Tom W. Campbell. (Little Rock, Ark.: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1941. 557 pp. \$3.00.)

"Each of these distinguished men—Matthew Lyon and Andrew Jackson, by the very zeal with which he performed what he believed to be his duty to his Country, offended a Federal Court, and each was made to pay therefor a fine of a thousand dollars. It is another coincidence further evidencing the similarity of their personalities that these encounters with the Federal Courts that brought down upon them these thousand dollar fines did not occur in their young, impetuous days, but when each was forty-eight years old; so that the conduct for which each of these old heroes was made by a Federal Court to pay a fine of a thousand dollars was his deliberate conduct, done with the approval of his mature judgment." (Chapter I, p. 4.)

This work is devoid of footnotes and lacks a table of contents, but has an incomplete bibliography and an index.

David Glasgow Farragut: Admiral in the Making. By C. L. Lewis. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1941. xvi, 372 pp. \$3.75.)

The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880. By Alruthus Ambush Taylor. (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941. ix, 306 pp., \$3.00.)

"At the close of the Civil War, society in Tennessee, as elsewhere in the South, was in a state of upheaval. The collapse of the movement for Southern independence had brought about the downfall of slavery and the disruption of the labor system of the State. Union and Confederate elements of the population entertained towards each other feelings of fierce animosity. Other problems abounded. In this condition of affairs, the State had to effect a substantial social reorganization.

"An important phase of this process dealt with the Negro. The State had to define his status; and the two races needed to work out their new relationship on the basis of mutual adjustment. The purpose of this study is to portray the role played by the Negro in this crisis. Consequently, the study considers the contribution made by the Negro to the political, social, and economic life of the State; and treats those forces and factors which tended either to support or to impede his efforts." (Preface.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Transition and Adjustment; II. The Negro Population; III. A Potent Force in Politics; IV. The Downfall of the Radical Party; V. An Era of Turbulence; VI. The Negro Emigration Movement; VII. The Negro at Work; VIII. Economic Progress; IX. Education in the Common Branches; X. Education for Leadership; XI. Religious Efforts Among the Blacks; XII. Social Life and Recreation; XIII. An Aggressive Minority in Politics.

The work is carefully documented and indexed and contains a good bibliography.

The Taming of the Tennessee: Continued Study Units in Geographic Backgrounds. By Walter Lefferts. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1941. xii, 65 pp., \$40.)

"Not only is Tennessee marked off by the valleys of the great river, but its history is also closely connected with this stream. Northern Alabama, moreover, has found its development made possible by the Tennessee. As we have already said, however, wild and hard to deal with was the river and wild and fierce were many of the dwellers along its shores. We shall see, in the end, how both the native people and the native waters have been controlled." (Foreword.)

This work is illustrated and contains a brief chronology of important dates, the first two of which are incorrect. It is not documented and includes several errors of fact, but it has a brief reading list, which includes fictional as well as non-fictional works.

Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Tennessee. Prepared by the Tennessee Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Records Survey, 1940. iv, 27 pp.)

"This *Guide* proposes to indicate the location of all manuscript depositories in Tennessee, i.e., places where manuscripts are held, regardless of whether separate manuscript divisions are maintained; the history of the institutions and housing of the manuscripts, the fields in which the depositories specialize, the general nature of the manuscript holdings with special reference to outstanding and significant papers and persons, the general accessibility of the manuscripts, and calendars, guides, and other keys to them. The editors have omitted institutional archives held by the institutions, and manuscript collections in the possession of families or private

collectors, as they were not intended to come within the scope of this publication." (Preface.)

Guide to Collections of Manuscripts in Tennessee. Prepared by the Tennessee Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Records Survey, 1941. vi, 38 pp., mimeographed.)

"This *Guide* proposes to describe each of the organized manuscript collections in Tennessee depositories listed in the *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Tennessee*, with the exception of those collections noted below. Each entry under the depository gives information, when it is available, on the name of collection, covering dates, amount, arrangement and catalog situation, library location, route by which the manuscripts arrived in the depository, description of content, i.e., types, dates, subjects, persons and places prominently represented, and bibliography on the collections." (Preface.)

American Imprints Inventory: No. 16, List of Tennessee Imprints, 1793-1840, in Tennessee Libraries; No. 20, Check List of Tennessee Imprints, 1841-1850; Inventories of County Archives of Tennessee; No. 1, Anderson County; No. 5, Blount County; No. 6, Bradley County; No. 11, Cheatham County; No. 53, Loudon County; No. 84, Tipton County; Transcriptions of the County Archives of Tennessee: Minutes of the County Court of Shelby County, Book No. 1, 1820-24; Minutes of the County Court of Knox County, Book No. "0," 1792-95; Guide to Public Vital Statistics in Tennessee. Prepared by the Tennessee Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Records Survey, 1941, mimeographed.)

The Tennessean and His Government. By Hilton Butler. (New York: Silver Burdett Company, 1941. xi, 308 pp., \$1.32.)

"This comprehensive textbook on the government of Tennessee reflects, in accuracy and vitality of presentation, the author's firsthand experience as former Director of the Department of Safety, and as present Executive Assistant to the Governor of the state.

"The book covers all branches of the state government, including the Judicial branches, the latter including chapters on county and municipal government. It not only will give junior high school pupils an understanding of the functions of their state government, but it also provides authoritative facts on details of organization, requirements for office, etc." (Foreword.)

This work includes as appendices the state constitution, a list of governors of Tennessee, and the state seal. It is illustrated and indexed, but contains no bibliographical references.

A Scrapbook For My Grandchildren. By William Cary Ross. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941. 350 pp., \$3.50.)

"Many times in my life I have wondered how my grandfathers lived, what they did, what they thought, and what conclusions they reached from their experiences in life. I expressed this thought one day to a friend who said 'You'll never know that but why don't you write down your experiences and conclusions for your grandchildren?' . . .

"So here, to the best of my limited ability, is the idea translated into words as a Scrapbook for my grandchildren. . . ." Foreword.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Biography; II. Travel; III. Sports; IV. Religion; V. Economics; VI. Psychology; VII. Charity; VIII. Education; IX. Politics; X. Just Scraps.

Although based to a large extent upon memory, these memoirs of a prominent Knoxville citizen are of considerable historical value, as they present for future consideration "the atmosphere and traditions of his own times, the outlook he himself has evolved."

The O'Conner-Conner-Simmons Families. Compiled by Lula Price O'Conner (Mrs. Wm. Edward Cox.) (Southern Pines, North Carolina: Wm. Edward Cox, 1941. 81 pp.)

This work is illustrated and contains brief sketches of the more prominent members of the families, including the story of the tragic death of three prominent Knoxvilleians on October 19, 1882.

The Land of the Lake: A History of Campbell County, Tennessee. By Dr. G. L. Ridenour. (LaFollette, Tennessee: LaFollette Publishing Company, 1941. 112 pp., \$1.00.)

History of Obion County: Towns and Communities, Churches, Schools, Farming, Factories, Social and Political. Assembled and edited by E. H. Marshall. (Union City, Tennessee: The Daily Messenger, 1941. 272 pp., \$2.00.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1941*

The annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society was held October 3, the 150th anniversary of the founding of Knoxville. The program had for its theme "The Preservation and Restoration of Historical Evidences Affected by TVA Activities in East Tennessee," with J. Charles Poe, Tennessee conservation commissioner, as the main speaker. Other speakers were Robert M. Howes, of the TVA; Mrs. B. B. Cates, of the Colonial Dames; Mrs. J. H. Richardson, of Morristown, State D. A. R. Bean Station Preservation chairman; and William Whaley, chairman of the Knoxville Planning Commission. Restoration of historic houses and marking of historic sites was discussed.

The Calvin M. McClung Award of \$50.00 was won by Weymouth T. Jordan, of Judson College, for his contribution, "The Private Interests and Activities of George Washington Campbell," to *Publications*, number 13, of the East Tennessee Historical Society. The judges of the contest were Professors Walter B. Posey, Birmingham-Southern College, Francis P. Weisenburger, Ohio State University, and A. R. Newsome, University of North Carolina.

Officers and editors of the East Tennessee Historical Society for 1942 were elected at the December meeting as follows: S. O. Houston, president; C. C. Justus, Knoxville, S. C. Williams, Johnson City, and J. P. Brown, Chattanooga, vice-presidents; Martha L. Ellison, secretary; Laura E. Luttrell, treasurer; J. B. Sanders and John S. Van Gilder, members of the executive committee; S. J. Folmsbee, managing editor; V. M. Queener, editorial associate; Daniel M. Robison and James W. Patton, members of the editorial board.

Governor Prentice Cooper appointed Judge S. C. Williams, of Johnson City, chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission; also new members: W. R. Webb, Bell Buckle; John T. Gray, Brownsville; Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, Chattanooga; C. E. Pigford, Jackson; Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville; Mayor Walter Chandler, Col. Walter Armstrong and Rev. Marshall D. Winfield, Memphis; Dr. O. C. Carmichael, Mrs. Rutledge Smith and Robert H. White, Nashville. At the December meeting in Nashville, plans to co-operate with the Tennessee Historical Society in publishing the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* were made. Professor William C.

*Compiled by Laura E. Luttrell. Unless otherwise indicated, all dates refer to 1941.

Binkley, of the faculty of Vanderbilt University, was chosen editor; Mrs. John H. DeWitt, associate secretary; William E. Beard, vice-chairman, and Austin P. Foster, secretary. Also plans were made to prepare for the celebration of the sesquicentennial of the state in 1946 by sponsoring the compiling and publishing of county histories and the marking of historic sites. Governor Cooper proposed the erection of a state library building to be dedicated as a sesquicentennial feature. This the Commission will sponsor.

The Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, elected officers as follows: Stanley F. Horn, president; S. C. Williams, Johnson City, R. B. C. Howell, Nashville, Mayor Walter Chandler, Memphis, and Mrs. Rhea Garrett, Dixon Springs, vice-presidents; Robert Quarles, Jr., recording secretary; Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, corresponding secretary; Mrs. John T. DeWitt, treasurer. In cooperation with the Tennessee Historical Commission the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* is to be published.

The Tennessee Folklore Society met in Knoxville, November 15. Dr. W. E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee, read a paper, "Folklore and Sociology."

At the seventh annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Atlanta, November 6-8, James W. Silver, of the University of Mississippi, read a paper entitled, "C. P. J. Mooney of the *Commercial-Appeal*, Crusader for Diversification." Culver H. Smith, of The University of Chattanooga, discussed this paper and also the one by Granville T. Prior, "Henry Laurens Pinckney and the *Charleston Mercury*." Stanley J. Folmsbee presided over the session which treated of Southern transportation and trade.

The American Association for State and Local History, organized in December, 1940, published the first number of *The State and Local History News*, in July and its first *Bulletin* in October. Edward P. Alexander, head of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, contributed to the *Bulletin*, "What Should Our Historical Society Do?"

Three historical luncheons, August 27, 28 and 29, features of the Knoxville sesquicentennial celebration, had for speakers: Dr. James D. Hoskins, with paper, "Knoxville, 1790-1830"; E. E. Patton, with paper, "Knoxville, 1830-1870"; Miss Pattie Boyd, "Knoxville, 1870-1940." Miss Boyd, who had been fifty years society editor of the *Knoxville Journal*, confined her talk to the social activities of that period.

Walter Armstrong, of Memphis, was elected president of the American Bar Association at a convention in Chicago, March 18. He was nominated by Mitchell Long, of Knoxville.

Prentice Cooper was inaugurated for a second two-year term as governor of the state, January 16, at the War Memorial Building in Nashville.

Miss Martha L. Ellison was elected head of the Calvin M. McClung Historical Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library and began the work March 11. She succeeded Miss Lucile Deaderrick, who resigned to become editorial assistant of the American Library Association, Chicago.

Miss Leah Fletcher, superintendent of the John Tarleton Institute for homeless children for twenty-eight years, presented her resignation to Knox County Court to become effective August 1. Miss May Rogers, principal of Oakwood school, Knoxville, was chosen by the Knox County Welfare Commission to succeed Miss Fletcher as head of the Institute.

Seaton Garrett, Knoxville's new postmaster appointed by President Roosevelt, took the oath of office February 28.

Mrs. Earl A. Graham, formerly Aubrey Lee Hill, of the Lawson McGhee Library Staff, was appointed librarian of the Chattanooga Public Library.

The commencement in June at the University of Tennessee marked the fiftieth anniversary of the graduation of President James D. Hoskins from that institution. Dr. Charles W. Dabney, who was president of the University at that time, was present upon this occasion. November 12, Dr. Hoskins was elected president of the Association of Land-grant Colleges and Universities at the annual meeting in Chicago.

Dr. H. A. Morgan, chairman of the TVA Board of Directors, resigned and David E. Lilienthal, at the request of Dr. Morgan, was made chairman by appointment of President Roosevelt.

United States Supreme Court justice, James Clark McReynolds, resigned February 1. He had served as a justice twenty-six years and had reached the retirement age. He lived many years of his life in Tennessee.

The Social Science Research Council designated to receive grants-in-aid: Chase C. Mooney, Brenau College, for a study of the institution of slavery in Tennessee; Joseph H. Parks, Memphis State College, for a study of the life of John Bell with special reference to the origin and development of the Whig party in Tennessee, and Daniel M. Robison, Vanderbilt University, for a study of the Whig tradition in the solid South.

Chancellor James B. Newman, who had served on the bench of Part II, chancery court in Nashville twenty-six years, retired in April.

Dr. L. L. Rice was elected president of Cumberland University, Lebanon. He succeeded President Ernest Stockton, who resigned to become connected with the Pan-American Commission in Washington.

Wendell H. Stephenson in November resigned from the managing editorship of the *Journal of Southern History* because of the pressure of his new duties as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Louisiana State University. Fred C. Cole, of the same University, was elected managing editor of the *Journal of Southern History*.

Sergeant Alvin York's World War exploits in disabling German machine guns and killing, or capturing, their defenders is the subject of a successful movie production with title, "Sergeant York."

T. H. Alexander, author and columnist, died July 28, at his home near Franklin. At that time he was contributor to the *Nashville Tennessean*.

Mrs. Octavia Louise Zollicoffer Bond, daughter of the Confederate Brigadier General Felix Kirk Zollicoffer, died October 2, at her home in Nashville, at the age of ninety-five years. She was the author of *The Family Chronicle and Kinship Book*, *Old Tales Retold* and *Perils and Adventures of Tennessee Pioneers*. Her husband was the late Judge John Bryan Bond. She was buried in the Zollicoffer plot of the old City Cemetery of Nashville.

Alva Ross Brown, president of the Johnson Bible College, Kimberlin Heights, Knox County, and author of a history of the College, died March 2.

Dr. Willis Cohoon Campbell, orthopedic surgeon and founder of hospitals for crippled children and, also, for crippled adults, in Memphis, died May 4.

Andrew B. Ewing, aged 89, former city judge and recorder of Franklin, died there March 4. He was buried in Rose Hill Cemetery at Columbia.

Benjamin Franklin Glover, aged 92 years and the last Confederate soldier who was living in Knoxville, died January 24.

John J. Graham, aged 74 years, former postmaster at Knoxville, died September 6.

Nathan Wesley Hale, a former congressman from the Second District of the state, died September 16, at his home in Los Angeles, California.

Oscar K. Holladay, judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the state, died at Cookeville, May 10. He had served ten years as a circuit judge; was a state senator, 1907-1911.

William Gibbs McAdoo, a former citizen of Knoxville, secretary of the treasury in Wilson's cabinet, director-general of railroads,

1917-1920, and former senator from California, died February 1, at his home in Washington. He also engineered the construction of the Hudson railway tubes connecting Manhattan to New Jersey. His ancestor, Nicholas Gibbs, a pioneer settler of Knox County, was a soldier of the French and Indian War.

Thomas Henry Malone, professor of equity and jurisprudence in Vanderbilt University Law School, died March 21. He was a former president of the Tennessee Bar Association.

Samuel H. Mitchell, who served four years in the 45th Confederate Infantry commanded by his father, Colonel Addison Mitchell, died March 25, at his home in Murfreesboro.

Foss Smith, dean of men at Lincoln Memorial University, died October 28.

To commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando De Soto, a "Forest of Discovery" was created and dedicated at Richard's Landing, forty miles north of Memphis, September 28. Among those who took part on the program were Earl H. Clapp, acting chief of the Forest Service, J. Charles Poe, state commissioner of conservation, Edward K. Love, of the National Wildlife Association, Governor Prentice Cooper and Edward J. Meeman, editor of the Memphis *Press-Scimitar*.

The sesquicentennial of the founding of Knoxville was celebrated August 27 to September 2. Dr. James D. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, was president of the Sesquicentennial Association. Others who served to promote the celebration were Mayor Fred L. Allen, Charles R. Griffith, F. A. Roberts, manager of the Chamber of Commerce, Henry Page, R. W. Riggins, John C. Cox, John L. Wilson, David F. Baker, M. G. Chambers, James G. Johnson, attorney, Reid Thomas, Victor Davis, R. A. Jarnagin, Malcolm Miller, Dave Jenkins and O. E. Sams. Featured were parades, a historical pageant, "Echoes of Progress" with performance each night, historical and Old-timers' luncheons, dedication of a marker to White's Fort, boat races, a queen's coronation ball, and an interdenominational religious service.

The pageant, "Echoes of Progress," performed each evening of Knoxville's sesquicentennial, was staged at the Shields-Watkins football stadium. It was participated in by the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the schools, the East Tennessee Historical Society and other patriotic and civic organizations. Highlights of the history of the city and state were depicted.

Fisk University, Nashville, celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in May.

The Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, June 4, at which time the newly elected president, Everett Derryberry, was formally installed.

The First Christian Church of Johnson City celebrated its seventieth anniversary, November 11-16. Reverend J. H. Dampier is the pastor. Ralph Richards, of Erwin, was leader of the music. A history of the church, compiled by the Historical Committee, A. B. Crouch, J. E. Crouch and Mrs. L. W. McCown, has been published.

St. Peter's Church, in Memphis, celebrated its centennial May 11 and 12. The Most Reverend William L. Adrian, bishop of the diocese, officiated. There was the centenary pontifical mass, a banquet and reception. Dominican priests conducted the first Catholic mass in Memphis.

Sunday evening, August 30, of the Knoxville sesquicentennial, an interdenominational religious service was observed at Shields-Watkins stadium. Dr. Fred Brown, principal speaker, paid tribute to the pioneer preachers: Samuel Carrick, Bishop Francis Asbury, Tidence Lane, H. M. Morrell and others. Homer Rodeheaver conducted a choir of six hundred voices.

Because of the flood of reservoir waters of the Cherokee Dam, Bean Tavern at Bean Station, Grainger County, built in 1814, on the New Orleans-Washington stage road, was taken down and the building material stored by the TVA until plans can be made to rebuild it upon a site near the shore of Cherokee Lake which the TVA has provided. The State Conservation Department will maintain as a park the area surrounding the restored tavern. The marker placed by the Daughters of the American Revolution at Bean Tavern will be removed to the new site.

A marker was placed upon the site of the cottage in which Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, author, once lived, by the English Club of Knoxville College. The exact location is on the College campus near McMillan Chapel.

A memorial plaque to mark the site of the Holbrook-Tennessee Normal College established at Fountain City in 1892, was dedicated August 22. The marker was placed on the Central High School building which now occupies the place of the main college building which was destroyed by fire. A reunion banquet was held at this time.

November 2, Maryville College dedicated a stone and tablet to mark the site of Union Academy, predecessor of Maryville College, conducted by Reverend Isaac Anderson on his farm near Knoxville, 1802-1812. The Simon Harris Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, sponsored the unveiling with Mrs. E. E. Pat-

ton, regent, presiding. The dedicatory address was made by Mrs. William H. Pouch, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the historical address, by Dr. Ralph Lloyd, president of Maryville College. Acknowledgment was made by Judge S. O. Houston, chairman of the College directors.

Sponsored by the John Adair Society of the Children of the American Revolution, of which Mrs. E. E. Patton is president, the Tennessee General Assembly passed a bill to acquire the home site, including forty acres, of John Sevier during his governorship of the state. This land is located in Knox County, near Neubert's. Appropriations for purchase, restoration and maintenance were made. A commission to direct the movement was named by Governor Cooper as follows: General Cary F. Spence, chairman, Mrs. E. E. Patton, Mrs. A. L. Craig, Mrs. Walter Devault and Dr. James D. Hoskins. The *Knoxville Journal* is an advocate of this venture.

To mark the site of Captain John Stone's Tavern in Knoxville a bronze tablet was placed, March 5, by Bonny Kate Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on the front of the Cumberland Hotel, corner of Gay Street and Cumberland Avenue. The tavern was the meeting place of the first court of Knox County in July, 1792; also of the Legislative Councils of the Territorial Assemblies of 1794 and 1795. E. E. Patton made the dedicatory address. Mrs. A. L. Craig, regent, presided.

The Knoxville Journal Junior Historical Association placed a bronze marker upon the front of the Chapman Drug Company building on State Street to mark the site of the first cabin built by James White in 1786. The cabin became one of the corner structures of White's Fort. On August 29, during the Sesquicentennial of Knoxville, the tablet was dedicated. William Rule, Jr., presented the marker and Mayor Fred L. Allen accepted it for the city. It was unveiled by Misses Betty Schettler and Sarah Spahr, winners of the James White essay contest.

Pleasant Forest Cemetery, near Concord and the site of Campbell Station, where Archibald Roane, second governor of the state, and also a number of Revolutionary soldiers and other leaders are buried, has been beautified. Members of the committee to have charge of the work were appointed by the Governor as follows: General Cary F. Spence, chairman, Miss Zella Armstrong and E. E. Patton. Funds for the work were furnished by the state and most of the labor was done with the assistance of the NYA. The Cemetery will be dedicated at an early date.

A bronze marker on the grave of Martin Shofner, Revolutionary soldier, was unveiled June 8, in the old Lutheran Cemetery on the

farm of Austin Shofner, near Shelbyville. Governor Cooper, one of the speakers, was one of the descendants of the patriot. The unveiling was sponsored by Shelby Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

A headstone procured from the War Department for the grave of John Witt, a Revolutionary soldier, was dedicated by Bonny Kate Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Sunday, April 6. Also a stone for the grave of the patriot's wife was provided by descendants. The graves are on the old Witt farm on the Holston River about ten miles east of Knoxville. The farm is now owned by the Burroughs family.

A rare portrait of Andrew Jackson was presented in April by Mrs. Cyrus Griffin Martin, of Chattanooga, to the Tennessee Room of the Memorial Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C.

The Washington County Bar Association presented a mural bearing likenesses of David Campbell and Hugh Lawson White which was placed upon the wall of the court room of the law court building in Johnson City. At the unveiling of the mural on November 21, Judge S. C. Williams made the biographical address. Honorable Robert L. Fine, president of the county bar association, presided during the ceremony. Judge Ben Allen, on behalf of the people of Johnson City, accepted the mural.

Murals by the artist, Dean Cornwell, in the Tennessee state office building, Nashville, were dedicated January 9. Honorable C. A. Craig presided. The artist was present and was introduced. The speakers were John Ed O'Dell, speaker of the House, and Blain Maxwell, speaker of the Senate. A printed folder illustrates and describes these murals.

The Tate Spring properties, including 1,300 acres, a hotel of more than one hundred rooms, twelve cottages and a golf course, east of Rutledge, have been purchased by Postmaster James L. Burke and others, of Morristown. The hotel grounds border on the new Cherokee Lake.

Congress has authorized establishment of the Cumberland Gap National Park where Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee meet. Each of the three states is to acquire several thousand acres to turn over to the government.

Watauga State Park, near Bristol, is being developed by the State Department of Conservation in cooperation with the federal government.

The new joint library building of Peabody College, Vanderbilt University and Scarritt College, in Nashville, was dedicated Decem-

ber 5 and 6. Speakers were Dr. Louis R. Wilson, dean of the Library School of the University of Chicago, Dr. W. W. Bishop, librarian emeritus of the University of Michigan, and others. A public reception and inspection of the building and equipment was held the last evening.

The McClung Historical Collection, of Lawson McGhee Library, has acquired microfilms of a diary kept by George Washington Campbell during his ministry to Russia, 1818-1820; and a diary of his grandson, Campbell Brown, kept during a trip to Richmond, Virginia, in 1866. There is also a collection of twenty-three letters and documents, 1795-1816, in which there is some material relating to the Blount conspiracy. Included are letters from William Blount; George Farragut, father of Admiral Farragut; W. G. Blount in regard to Henry Stone, a soldier of the war of 1812; and Captain William Rickard, then at Fort Blount, to Colonel David Henley, agent of the War Department, Knoxville.

The University of Tennessee Library has secured a typewritten copy of the diary of Major David McKee Claggett, of Hopkinsville, Kentucky. From October 1, 1861 to January 1, 1865, the diary covers operations of his regiment in western Kentucky, in Middle Tennessee, and also at Chattanooga, Knoxville, Strawberry Plains, New Market and Morristown.

The National Park Service is publishing a number of pamphlets called "Popular Study Series." History numbers include the following titles: "Mountain Speech in the Great Smokies," "New Echota, Birthplace of the American Indian Press," "Rifles and Riflemen at the Battle of King's Mountain," and "Rifle-making in the Great Smoky Mountains."

Among the articles of historical interest in newspapers are the following: The *Knoxville Journal*, Mar. 2, "Tennessee's First Newspaper," Jan. 5, "Tennessee's Territorial Capital," and Feb. 9, "Tennessee's First Legislative Meeting was Held in Knoxville," by Lucile Deaderick; Feb. 23, "Mrs. Mary Hoss Headman," by William Yarbrough; the *Plain Talk and Tribune*, Newport, "Hangings in Cocke County," by Ruth W. O'Dell; The *Union City Daily Messenger*, "Obion County Churches," by E. H. Marshall.

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Mary R. Campbell (Mrs. Claude A.), Norman, Oklahoma, was formerly instructor of history at Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

Joseph H. Parks is professor of history at Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee.

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D. C. Corbitt is professor of history at Candler College, Havana, Cuba. Roberta Corbitt, his wife, an accomplished linguist, assisted in the translations.

Mary Hardin McCown (Mrs. L. W.), Johnson City, Tennessee, is an honorary state president of the National Society, Daughters of 1812.

Samuel C. Williams, Johnson City, a prominent lawyer and the author or editor of numerous works on Tennessee history, is chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission and vice-president of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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